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## THE STANDARD.

### GOD'S APPOINTED WAY OF CRUSHING THE REBELLION.

### A SERMON,

By Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.,

*Preached in the Church of the Puritans, New York, on Sunday, September 29, 1861.*

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?—*Isaiah* 58 : 6.

We have already considered the greatness of our national guilt of slavery, and the judgments of God on account of this vast crime. We are now to consider our way and method of repentance and deliverance, which is God's appointed method of crushing the rebellion.

In resuming the consideration of our duty under this text, it is clearly at the command of God that we undertake to answer the question in it. We throw ourselves on God, and we speak from Him, and by His authority, out of His Word when we demand, in His name, that our government prove themselves the ministers of good and not evil to the country, and that they bear the sword against evil doers, rebels and traitors, and not against the victims of the tyranny of those traitors. We speak from God and His Word, when we demand that our government, by the power committed to them of God for good, for a terror to evil doers, break the arm of the oppressor, the right arm of this rebellion, and let the oppressed go free. We speak from God, and at his command, when we call upon our government to keep the fast which they themselves have appointed, in professed recognition of the authority of God and His Word, for the whole nation—when we call upon them to keep that fast themselves, in the very way that God has enjoined, by breaking every yoke, and thus destroying the central power and wickedness of this hideous and blood-thirsty rebellion. Let them advance to its innermost shrine, and cut down its Moloch of slavery from his throne, and open the prison doors of the millions still fattened for his sacrifices; let them do this, and the priests of that hellish Confederacy will fly howling from its altars, and the armies of the Confederacy will be disbanded in terror, and a free people will take the prophets of this Baal and let none of them escape. The people indeed are longing for the government to give the signal for this righteous exercise of power.

Doubtless, the great work before us, for God, for ourselves, for mankind, for humanity, is the putting down of this rebellion; and our whole energies, at God's command, are to be concentrated in this one work. The one grand question of duty is just this: How can this work be done most directly, most sweepingly, most effectively, at the least expense of blood and treasure, and in the best way for the honor of God, for the ends of justice and humanity, for our own good, and for the benefit of mankind?

If there is one plain measure, one energetic movement that can accomplish this, and save us the anguish, the misery, the horror of more bloody battles, if there is one blow that, rightly struck, would save multitudes from ruin, our households from mourning and desolation, would secure the honor of our country, the favor of God, the interests of humanity, the applauding righteous verdict of mankind, a blow that would cut asunder the arteries of this rebellion and strike it dead, then, if we refuse to strike that blow, and prefer to have our own soldiers sacrificed, rather than release the victims and destroy the Moloch of the rebels, then we are the traitors, and the guilt of the rebellion is on our souls, and God will deal with us accordingly.

#### WHAT TO STRIKE, AND WHEN.

Then the question comes, What are really the elements of this rebellion, its object, its motives, its one great ruling purpose and law? If we can discover that, and strike that, there we *must* strike, for God and humanity, there it is our duty to strike, then we shall be successful.

Again, on what classes, and in what numbers, and in what way, does the rebellion rest and operate, and for what power does it work, and by what power, in its organization, its materials, its spirit and scope, South as well as North? In answer to this; passing by for the present the overawed trampled millions of the poor whites, we find, in the first place, four million of human beings held as slaves, the power and dominion over whom, as absolute merchandise, constitute the strength of the empire of the Confederacy over all others, and consequently the security and permanence of that power and dominion are the supreme object of the Confederacy, its ruling policy and vital law. Cut away that policy, destroy that law, release its victims, and the Confederacy falls; nothing else would be needed for its annihilation. Accordingly we find that one grand object, the supreme and ruling object of the rebellion, in forming the Confederacy, was to withdraw the millions of human beings whom it held as property, away from all possibility of interference or control on the part of the Northern government and people; to take out that property and dominion from all hazard of embarrassment, and assume that source of greatness and of intended overwhelming superiority, as a separate Southern independency and sovereignty, out of reach of any moral or constitutional power in the North to injure it, and out of all participation on the part of the North in its profit. For this purpose, they were willing to give up all the advantage of constitutional protection in this slave despotism, which they enjoyed by the consent of the North while they were willing to share *with* the North, and they preferred to throw off at once the whole Constitution of the United States government, and their allegiance to it, for the establishment of a new Constitution and government, in and under which, slavery, instead of being barely tolerated as an evil to be got rid of, should be assumed and inaugurated as the throne of their empire, the law of their Constitution, and the most sacred right of their social and religious state. Is there a man that dares deny this history?

#### NO RECOGNITION OF SLAVE PROPERTY OBLIGATORY.

Now, then, we find ourselves not only released on our part from any pretended or real obligation to regard any right of property claimed by these rebellious States in these four million of their victims, but bound in bare justice to ourselves, and to the integrity of our own government, to withdraw these millions from under the control of this rebellion, and to assume their protection, as the right of supreme guardianship over them, for their and our good. We are as much bound to do this, as we are to take the fortresses or other property belonging to the United States from under the dominion of the Confederacy. All the State Constitutions of this Confederacy, by which formerly they claimed a right of protection for their slave property under the Constitution of the United States, are turned into rebellious instruments, by the very articles and necessity of the rebellion itself; so that we ourselves, as a government, have now no longer any right to recognize those Constitutions, or treat as property any of the millions of the victims of this wickedness, whatever pretended right there might have been before under certain contingencies, such as the escape of fugitives from one State into another State, and a pursuit and claiming of them by their masters. But now our only right in regard to them is to protect them as oppressed beings, who, by the very fact of the Constitution and government of the United States having been thrown off by their masters, in order to their more thorough and perpetual bondage, have themselves now the right to demand release and deliverance, by the United States government, from this tyranny. We have not only no right to oppress them, or to recognize them as slaves, but we have the right, and it is our duty, to deliver and protect them, for our own sake as well as theirs, and for the overthrow of this rebellion.

We insist, and we have a right to insist, in the name of God, on our government being in earnest against this most horrible rebellion. We demand that the next expedition South shall be one of blows and conquest, carrying with it freedom to the enslaved, and consequently the redemption and possession of the whole country. Every day that we lengthen out the war without striking this blow, strengthens the rebels and renders it more impossible to crush the rebellion. We demand that our government cease permitting the rebels to dictate to us the terms on which we fight. We demand that this monstrosity cease of suffering rebellious States to interpret in their favor a Constitution which they utterly reject, this absurdity of suffering those States to hold that very Constitution as a shield for the heart of their rebellion from attack. If our government sets itself up as a slaveholding government, we are lost, and our government, not the rebellion, will have destroyed the country.

#### GRANDEUR OF OUR OPPORTUNITY.

Thus far we have argued on the lowest ground, that of self-protection, the necessity of putting down this rebellion to save our own existence as a nation. The next is a higher necessity, the necessity of justice and righteousness to others, the necessity of obeying God, the necessity of our *righteous* existence, and the claims of the four million of the enslaved, under God, at our hands. In crushing this rebellion, God gives us the opportunity to put an end forever to the impious claim of property in man, and to sweep that scandal of humanity from existence. In crushing this rebellion, God gives us the opportunity to throw off, at one swing, the accursed nightmare of iniquity, that, like a social and political demon, a ghastly, grinning, featureless monster, worse than Milton's Death, has sat upon the Constitution, perverting it, and driving it as a locomotive of Satan to drag both the government and people into boundless injustice and sin. A superstition in behalf of slavery, an idiotic, trembling, idolatrous terror, more shameful than the craven bestial superstitions of the Nile, has appalled our souls, has curdled our heart's blood, has stretched its icy, palsying, poison-darting sceptre over the very altars of our religion, striking dumb even ministers of the Gospel, or inspiring inhuman and unchristian utterances. God gives us now the opportunity to rid ourselves of the tyranny of this monster. God gives us the opportunity to regenerate ourselves as a nation, to throw off all these demoralizing obligations that, like a garment of filth and fire, burn us to the soul, as well as constitute a spectacle of shame and horror to the nations. God gives us the opportunity to obey and honor him, and to show the beneficent intent and power of the Gospel on a vast scale, in one immediate vast movement, attracting the gaze, gratitude and joy of the world, a movement of justice and humanity for our own good and the happiness of all mankind. The proclamation of freedom to the enslaved in all these rebellious States is that movement of righteousness and mercy, for which it may be truly said the whole creation on our globe yearneth and travaileth in expectation; that movement that God commands; that movement that would break not only the slaves' chains but ours, and cause the fleshless dry bones of our dead piety and patriotism to rise up an exceeding great army.

But this is abolition, you are ready to exclaim, and, therefore, it cannot be adopted. Well, my friends, a rose by any other name would swell as sweet. Call it demolition or deliquescence, or evaporation, or dephlogistication, or any euphemism you prefer or please. Only execute it. It is God's will. And thanks be to God, unprincipled demagogues, ready to do Satan's work, have lost that power which they once exercised with this watchword to evoke affiliated spirits from the pit. And the time we hope is near when the seven sons of this diabolizing Sceva among us, attempting this name in their political incantations, will raise a spirit that will tear their own robes from them and turn them out of the house. God be praised! By the fire of his word burning in men's bones as to the method of crushing this rebellion, he is constraining more men to utter this word abolition to-day, as the annihilating word against the rebels, than all the eloquence of your political pro-slavery orators or newspapers can persuade to pronounce it for the purpose of putting down Abolitionists. The time has come when the old unanswered taunt, Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him? Is Rabbi Conservative or the Honorable Mr. Sagacity an Abolitionist? begins to be answered by a clear ringing voice in God's name, even from pulpits and places of authority, Yes, I am an Abolitionist, and in the sacred, God-commanded work of crushing this rebellion, and restoring our whole country to freedom, we must all be Abolitionists, government and people!

#### THE CONSCIENCE OF THE COUNTRY DEMANDS THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

But some upright mummies in pulpits that, since the war was popular, have taken to preaching political sermons, still preach against abolition as the cause of the rebellion. Well! on their own Hahnemannic principle in dealing with the gospel, the cause being the cure, it ought to be administered. It is the cause of the rebellion, just as the command to worship God is the cause of Satan's rebellion, just as Latimer's preaching was said to be the cause of rebellion, and he answered them with the story of the old man who thought that Tenterden steeple was the cause of Goodwin Sands. It is the cause of rebellion just as conscience set on fire of God's word is the cause of rebellion, just as the preaching of Christ was the cause of the rebellion of the Jews, and the preaching of Paul was the cause of the rebellion in Ephesus. But what is abolition, in reality, that it has produced all this mighty uproar? It is obedience to God. It is reason, wisdom, benevolence, justice. This text is abolition. Isaiah lxi. 1, is abolition; and Christ's very first official sermon on earth was an abolition sermon on that text. In our own case, it is salvation. It is virtue, honor, prosperity, nobleness, peace, for the nation. It is the security of good government, order, stability, confidence, righteous industry, and prosperity, and wealth. It is that renunciation of sin which alone can secure the divine blessing. It is that righteousness which exalteth a nation. It is obedience to the gospel of love, doing to others as you would they should do to you. It is immediate repentance, ceasing to do evil, learning to do well.

Abolition is the conscience of the North, and if God has really taken it in hand and set it on fire against slavery, all the military and political power of the country united cannot keep down the volcano. There is a Samson in the land, not blind, but instructed, commissioned, and inspired of God to execute his will against this ferocious iniquity, and though the Philistines may think they have bound him, yet, when the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon him, he will smite them hip and thigh with a great slaughter. Months ago there would have been such a ground wave against this iniquity as would have swept it from the land, had the right word against it gone forth when the first cannon boomed against Sumter. Since that time, the enemies of our country and friends of the rebellion have been laboring to produce a most portentous reaction in favor of slavery. While public indignation was high, the pro-slavery traitors were dumb, but now that the tide is out, these unclean creatures scream over the shallows and lay their spawn in the mud. A few days of warm sun upon their work, and we should see an army of alligators. It is arrogantly declared that the time of emancipation is come, but not emancipation for the blacks, and they who demand freedom in God's name for all, are denounced as traitors to the government; and sentiments of impiety, inhumanity and intolerance are uttered, forerunning a Northern despotism (if we are not swift to crush it), compared with which that at the South would be quite endurable. Let our government beware how they give any countenance to this frightful ferocity, this precursor of a reign of terror.

Let our government understand that we at the North are not to be terrified or dragooned under any pretence into submission to slavery as the reconstructive policy of the country. Let our government understand that there are those at the North who, in allegiance to God and defence of their constitutional liberties, can rock this nation as with an earthquake to its centre, by a power unconquerable except by annihilation. Let the people beware lest their slaveholding advisers rouse this power into that action, which even Webster declared would convulse the country.

The policy of reconstructing the Union with slavery as its dictating law may seem very wise in slaveholding communities, but while you dream that you are saving one line of States from secession by it, you would drive another into secession by attempting to enforce it. Depend upon it, New England will not again bow down before this Dagon, nor will any State that God instructs with his Word and inspires by his Spirit. The time of emancipation is, indeed, come, God's time of emancipation for the blacks, and if those impious men who refuse to obey God in this thing, dare attempt to act upon the principle that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect, God will send such judgments, such a devouring storm of judgments, that all faces will gather blackness before them.

In this war, in the putting down of this rebellion, the conscientious Abolitionists are the truest, incorruptible, unchangeable patriots, because their fire of soul and body is not only the common love of country, but the fire of heaven against a rebellion that has in it more of the element of hell than any rebellion ever organized. This abhorrence of slavery, this undying resolution never to rest till it be abolished, this eternal love of freedom for all, this irresistible sentiment of justice and hatred of all injustice, is the permanent, inexhaustible, incorruptible material on which the government and the country must rely. This heaven-born, heaven-nurtured and supported passion, this gospel-hatred of oppression and of slavery, is the mother's milk of patriotism that made such soldiers as John Brown, who, if he had been now alive, and entrusted with the management of this war, would have had two hundred thousand slaves by this time enlisted as free soldiers to fight the battles of our country—who would, indeed, have put an end to the rebellion almost as soon and as easily as he took possession of Harper's Ferry. The government of this country will yet find that the sentiment which it now resists or refuses to recognize, is its only possible salvation, and that no reliance can be placed on a patriotism in sympathy with slavery.

#### THE TRUE PATRIOTISM IRRESISTIBLE.

It is impossible that those who oppose this rebellion merely as a political crime can hate it or oppose it as those do who abhor it and fight against it as a sin against God, because of its diabolical law of slaveholding. If John Brown had had the conduct of the Hatteras expedition, with five thousand men marching under gospel orders of deliverance to the enslaved, he would have gone clean through North Carolina at a single sweep, and the next morning, after the Confederate army before Washington heard of it, there would not have been left a corporal's guard threatening the Capitol. The whole Confederate host must have hurried South to look after the peculiar institution.

If one single State were exorcised of these demons by the Saviour's proclamation, the whole herd of swine would rush down over this steep place into the sea, and perish in the waters.

And now it is an evil day with us, and a day of desolation and calamity, not so much because of our sins, or of God's judgments on account of them, as of our attempt to escape the judgments and yet maintain the sins. It is a day of terror, because, though God has granted to us such an opportunity of repentance and recovery at once, as he rarely grants to nations, we are refusing to avail ourselves of it. His dealings with us are very wonderful, a combination of judgment and mercy almost unparalleled. The war is a judgment, and yet it is the greatest of God's providential mercies if we will use it as such, and strike by it for the death of this rebellion, by striking the monster sin that holds it in existence and gives it all its power.

Even in plunging us into this misery, God has opened to us a door out of it, by obedience to Him, by justice and mercy to the oppressed, by the opportunity of striking down the oppressor and the rebellion and our own sin, by merely striking the fetters from the enslaved; securing a mighty victory by simply and solely performing a grand national act of benevolence and justice. This rebellion and this war, by making it possible for us to conquer the rebellion and deliver the whole nation at a single blow, is the greatest boon ever conferred upon us by divine Providence. We are mad, even to perdition, not to avail ourselves of it. God has taken us by this judgment, as in the arms of an angel of mercy, and laid us down at the threshold of this opportunity; has stood us up upon our feet before this open door, through which we might enter to an almost bloodless victory and peace, to a glorious career of self-regeneration, freedom and beneficence; and yet we refuse it, and treat the urgent offer of it as a crime, and those who demand it in the name of God and humanity as traitors to the government!

#### OUR POSITION IF WE REFUSE TO OBEY GOD.

Let us now look at our position if we refuse to obey God, if we uphold slavery as the obligation and law of the Union, and instead of setting the slaves free under martial law by God's proclamation, command our officers and soldiers to respect them as the most sacred of all property, and pledge the government to reconstruct the Union on this impious basis.

We just put ourselves on a level with the Confederacy itself, and assume their principles as ours. We resolve to reconstruct our Union under their law, at their pleasure, to keep their oligarchs in power and their iniquity supreme and popular.

It is as if, when there was war in heaven, the inhabitants of heaven itself had agreed upon a Union with Lucifer on his grounds, had proclaimed their determination first to subjugate him, and then take the sin of the whole rebellion into partnership; had proclaimed that Satan's sin was sacred, was a primal law of heaven, if only he would pursue it in subjection to the heavenly Union, in subordination to heaven's authorities as supreme.

We see, in the hideous wickedness, impiety, cruelty and barbarism of this Confederacy, what we ourselves were fast becoming under the despotism and putrefying immorality of slavery; what our whole system would have grown to, as a mass of death, through the gangrene of this moral poison, had not this secession madness, in God's great mercy, intervened.

The hatefulness, the ghastly, diabolic ugliness of this slave-trading Confederacy, is just this, that it is a Confederacy of breeders and traders in human flesh, a Confederacy building itself on the sacredness of slave property. And now there are those among us, pretended enemies of this rebellion, that are just proclaiming the righteousness of its central, supporting, all-controlling law. And in obedience to the proclamations of the sacredness of slavery as a constitutional obligation and right, we are just taking the central feature and quality that makes God and man abhor this rebellion, and enshrining it as our own idol; cutting out its venom and injecting it anew into our own veins, as the elixir of national grace, freedom and immortality! Inoculating ourselves anew with this wickedness to please Kentucky, to keep Kentucky in countenance, assured of the safety of her peculiar domestic institution! If this advice is followed, if these principles and this course of action be continued, then our government will have gone deeper into this wickedness than ever, and will be found rivalling the slave-trading Confederacy itself in its worship of slavery. At this rate, the financiering expedient for putting down the rebellion is the establishment of a United States mint for coining property in man. Be faithful to the United States government, and you shall be paid so many human beings as chattels, as your property, as the reward for your loyalty.

Our commanders and our government have plunged us, as a nation, into deeper shame and guilt than ever, by sending back fugitives, by the insolent wholesale contempt and oppression of the black race, by catching and keeping for their owners human beings on the supposition of their being slaves, and by offering to loyal slaveholders security for their slave property. How long shall these superfluous atrocities be continued? How long shall a righteous war be rendered infamous, by its leaders turning military panders to the crime of slavery, and degrading our soldiers to the condition of camp hounds, to hunt up the trembling victims of the avarice and cruelty of rebellious slaveholders?

We have read accounts of files of soldiers appointed to aid a human hound that had come into camp baying after his victim; United States' soldiers, enlisted to fight for putting down a pro-slavery rebellion, appointed to aid in capturing the fugitive slave, and returning him to his owner! Under what authority or shadow of right was this base action performed? By our Constitution, even with the Fugitive Slave bill appended to it, this could not have been done, even in a time of peace, and for a friendly State, without a marshal and a judge and all the steps that the law requires. Yet this outrage upon the personal liberty of innocent victims is committed, and there is not even a protest, and the character and position of the commander are not injured by it, nay, perhaps are positively strengthened.

Now, if one of our loyal Northern merchants had come into camp and asked a file of soldiers to help him hunt up a fugitive debtor, that owed him a thousand dollars, where, think you, is the General that would not have ordered the intruder about his business? My soldiers were enlisted for other purposes, he would have said, than to serve as bum-bailiffs to help the merchants recover their debts. But put the value into the shape of a human being with a skin not colored like our own, and let the bound come in the shape of a Southern slave-owner, and presto, the United States General puts the whole army at his service for so sacred and holy an object as that of ensuring the sacredness of slave property.

There must be some potent unrevealed secret of this inexplicable baseness, this alacrity of degradation. Is our government still ruled by slaveholders? Do the slaveholders of Kentucky control the whole policy and all the measures of our government, in the interest of the peculiar institution? Are the Generals of our armies themselves slaveholders, that they exhibit such a detestable proclivity to the business of slave-hunting, taking to it, when once in the field, as readily as if it had been part of their military education? There are noble and honorable exceptions, but certainly there is a slaveholding magnet somewhere in our government, too near the compass for safety in a time like this. It would be well to examine and see, when we are so near shipwreck.

If but a single slave is caught and kept for a pretended owner, or sent back to that owner on the ground of his loyalty, the transaction constitutes our government a slave-trading government. The transaction is not one iota more elevated or less injurious and wicked than that of selling human beings to put the avails into the missionary box, or that of selling the human stock on a plantation to pay up a mortgage. But when we regard it on the scale and in the manner in which it has been carried on, the impiety and the wickedness are astounding. For example, for the sake of keeping Kentucky loyal to the Union, we agree to keep four millions of human beings in slavery, over whom we have no right whatever but for protection of their rights, yet we agree to destroy every one of those rights and keep them in the condition of chattels, provided Kentucky will simply not join the rebellion! That is, we agree to keep the heart of the rebellion secure from attack, provided Kentucky will keep out of it. We pay Kentucky for not joining the rebellion, by the price of four million of slaves kept in bondage. In other words, we agree to disobey God, and not to employ the means God has given us for putting down the rebellion, for the sake of keeping Kentucky from joining the rebellion.

Property in man is the coin and diplomacy of this government, while it is thus purchasing the loyalty of States by the assurance of the sacredness of slave property. Our government has no right to assure a single State, either in or out of the Union, or a single individual, of the sacredness of slave property. What right has our government to advertise slaves for sale, or to keep a slave runaway pen, and advertise for owners? Our government has no authority in the matter whatever, except, under martial law, to put down the rebellion, by the confiscation of slave property and employment of the slaves against the rebels. The confiscation of the property of the rebels is inevitably the confiscation of their slaves, unless the government declare that their slaves are not property, in which case they are free, and the government have no right to treat them as slaves, or to suppose them to be slaves. Our government, in assuming power over slaves, over fugitives, not proved to be slaves; and proof there cannot be, since the very rebels themselves would have to follow them into the camp, within our lines, and present evidence of ownership, and even then it would not be legitimate, or available, or actionable, unless the escaping fugitive had run from one State into another State; our government, in assuming such power over these poor creatures, power to take them up, imprison them, stop them in their flight, whip them and send them back to their rebellious masters (as we have seen accounts of such atrocious cruelty performed even by troops from Massachusetts), power to declare them slaves and hold them as such—power to strip the United States uniform from loyal soldiers because they are black, is guilty of a most wanton and wicked usurpation, is guilty of supporting the rebellion itself, and would seem to have taken as the principle of national action the execrable announcement of Judge Taney, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect.

#### SAFETY OF DOING RIGHT.

Now, we speak for God, and humanity, and our own rights, and the salvation of the country, when, in God's name, we denounce such wickedness, and call upon our government to interpose for the protection of the slave, for the deliverance of the slaves themselves from this rebellion, and for the employment of the slaves in the service of their country, to put the rebellion down. Let the slaves in the rebellious States be declared free, and let a single one of those States be invaded by an army with this proclamation of God, justice, and humanity, and the conquest of the whole slave rebellion would follow, and slavery and the rebellion being thus crushed in the rebel States, all difficulty would cease in the other States. Slavery might be left to itself in Kentucky, and free permission safely accorded to that State to keep her own peculiar institution. But who does not see that she would instantly be ashamed of it, sick unto death, hastening to throw it off for her own salvation. Draw a cordon of freedom and righteousness around Kentucky on the South, by putting down the rebellion and proclaiming the law of freedom in the rebel States, where, in fact, by act of Congress, all rebel property being confiscated, the slaves are free; carry that act and operation of freedom through the rebel States, and Kentucky, instead of demanding any longer the protection of slavery, would beg to be included in the same arrangement, would implore the government to help untie the millstone of slavery from around her own State neck. There is no difficulty in the path of duty in this thing. All our perplexities are removed, all obstacles out of the way, and victory is sure, and our salvation covenanted and completed of God, the moment we take this step of obedience to him, and resolve to break every yoke.

But time and danger are pressing on, and by the refusal of this just measure we are preparing a state of things which, when the necessity comes upon us of employing emancipation for our own salvation, will prevent the possibility of such a refuge, will deprive us of the ability to use it. Once it was in our power; in a few days it may be so no longer. Because I called, but ye refused; I stretched out my hand, but no man regarded it, therefore, I also will laugh at your calamity, will mock when your fear cometh. While you are holding on for a higher price, God puts a worm into your grain, and when you open this reserved supply, you will find it nothing but a pestilence. How dreadful it is to be trembling on the eve of a great and terrible battle, which might have been entirely prevented, even three weeks ago, by a diversion at the South in behalf of justice and humanity!

All necessity of another battle might have been avoided. Had the golden opportunity been accepted, which was given, when the Hatteras forts were taken, and when the hopes of Union men in North Carolina were elevated, and the rebels fled in terror; had our troops then entered that State, proclaiming freedom, they would have conquered it, through the whole length and breadth, in one week, and from that State could have given law to the whole Confederate army. The rebellion would have received its mortal blow. How long will the country submit to the unnecessary sacrifice of property and life, in order to prevent slavery from being sacrificed? While we are speaking, a battle may be raging, which will clothe thousands of our households in mourning—a battle, the consequences of which God alone can tell. How dreadful is the policy of protection to slavery, which has brought all this calamity upon us, and is now threatening the country with destruction! How terrific the responsibility of those who hold the power of crushing this rebellion, but refuse to exercise it, either because slavery is dearer than the welfare of the country, or because they think that slavery itself, protected, is the country's salvation!

It is a season of awful peril and solemnity, a time for the deepest prostration of our souls before God in penitence and prayer. May the God of our salvation have mercy upon us! May God turn the hearts of our rulers, at this fearful crisis, to that measure of righteousness, humanity, and justice, in obedience to Him, which alone can save us!

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How it Works.—A correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, writing from Kentucky, observes:

"I greatly fear that we have not done with secession in Kentucky by a great deal. The letter of the President to Fremont has robbed his noble proclamation of its moral effect, and secessionists and their secret sympathizers everywhere breathe freer, and are reassured that they can continue to act against the life of the government with impunity."

Not the first time that a timid and time-serving policy has tended to defeat the object which it was intended to advance.—*Chicago Congregational Herald.*

### *EXCITING TOPICS IN WASHINGTON.*

Washington Correspondence of The Independent

The sermons delivered in the Capital on the historical day of the National Fast—for it is a day that will take its place in the history of this nation—the sermons delivered by our, it is to be supposed, *patriotic and loyal* clergymen are worthy of especial note. The honest, faithful observer cannot fail to "make a note of" them, that, in the future settlement of the great controversy now going on, the civilized world may know the degree of faithfulness of the professed ministers of Christ in the most important political Capital of the land. It is but fair, then, to say that not one orthodox clergyman in this Capital dared speak a word of the great cause of the war. Nearly every one professed to enumerate the causes of our present distress—*not one* dared to allude in the faintest manner to the grand cause—the cause which, if not removed, must inevitably ruin us as a nation, and result in the distressing failure of our present attempt to subdue the rebellion. Slavery was not mentioned. One preacher laid our troubles to the fact that several of the Legislatures of the *Northern* States had repealed their old laws respecting capital punishment! Another found in the running of railway trains on the Sabbath a cause for our present distress; and another still laid the war to "party spirit"—of course one party being quite as guilty as another. Not one dared speak the name of slavery. The result was that intelligent men went home from church sad and ashamed; the mere worldlings jeered and scoffed at the cowardice of the clergy, or their blindness.

There is another most singular fact connected with the Fast-day observances in this city. At least one-half of the clergy omitted to pray for the success of the Union army—omitted to take either side in the controversy between the government and the rebels. In some of our fashionable churches it would have been impossible for a stranger to tell whether he was in a rebel or a loyal church. The object of the Fast was not alluded to, and no prayer went up for the success of the government arms. There was one notable exception. Rev. Dr. Channing preached in the Unitatian church by invitation, and it is scarcely necessary to add that he did not shirk his duty by evading the grand issue of the hour. He not only attributed our troubles mainly to slavery and a wicked worldly expediency, but declared his belief to be that if the government lacked the virtue or the courage to meet the question of slavery—if it failed to initiate measures for its extinction, it would fail ignominiously in its attempt to put down the rebellion. His audience was gathered from all the classes and sects of the Capital, and of course some of the more conservative persons present disliked the anti-slavery discourse; but a large majority of those present, though politicians and placemen, were evidently pleased, and left the church admiring the boldness and faithfulness of the preacher.

In the camp several plain and truthful sermons were delivered, and, to say the least, there was no mistaking on which side the chaplains belonged.

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Correspondence of The N. Y. Daily Times.

The "logic of events" has at length forced the slavery controversy upon the Churches of Washington, and it is highly probable that we shall have stirring times in several of the principal congregations of the city, before many weeks pass over our heads. The Unitarian Society here has always been more or less anti-slavery, and although it dismissed a brilliant young preacher, some years ago, for the exuberance of his zeal in the cause, rather than for maintaining it, the Church has never, so far as I can learn, had a settled pastor who was not *avowedly* opposed to slavery. The immediate permanent successor of the rejected pastor came here with the reputation of having preached a Kansas sympathizing sermon to his former congregation, in the West; and while here he habitually avowed his sentiments from the pulpit. But the "overt act" of this society was committed yesterday, in the call of the Rev. Wm. H. Channing to the pastorate, after he had preached two decided anti-slavery sermons. He received 29 out of 38 votes, the nine opposing votes being cast for other clergymen of known anti-slavery views. But I have not alluded to this Church as an illustration of the remark that a great religious controversy is arising on slavery. The fact is, the Unitarians only differ as to the mode of treating the subject.

But the controversy to which I now wish to call attention arose on Fast-day, in the E Street Baptist Church, of which Mr. Samson is pastor. Some seven or eight years ago he was regarded as rather "unsound" on the slavery question, in the Southern sense of the word, and this impression may have been strengthened by the fact that Mr. Sumner lodged in his house at the time of the assault upon him by Brooks. Subsequently, however, Mr. Samson became President of Columbia College, an institution located on the outskirts of the city, which is chiefly patronized by the South. Since his accession to this post, his views appear to have undergone a change, and in May he went down to Richmond. This was regarded by many, at the time, as virtually going over to the enemy; but he nevertheless returned, after remaining some weeks, and I have never heard that he complained of his treatment while there, or that he was compelled to leave. The College under his control has itself been brought into suspicion by his connection with it, and real or imaginary rockets have been seen to emanate from that quarter, which were surmised to be signals to the enemy.

On Fast-day the Union prayer-meeting was held in Dr. Samson's Church. During these meetings it is the custom for those present to address the audience briefly on religious topics, and on the occasion referred to Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, a near relative of the Vice-President, spoke upon the duty of confessing national as well as personal sins, in order to secure the forgiveness and benediction of the Almighty. After adverting to God's dealings with the Jews, he proceeded to say:

"That the sin of slavery is an abomination in the sight of God cannot be questioned, and that this nation, as such, is guilty of it, is equally clear. If, therefore, the people of God do not confess and deplore it most deeply and sincerely, our beloved country may be visited with judgments as severe as those of the Jews, and the day of retribution may be near at hand."

At this point, the Chairman, Rev. Dr. Samson, interrupted the speaker, saying that he had introduced a topic forbidden by the rules of the meeting, and would not be allowed to go on. Slavery is recognized by the Constitution, and cannot, therefore, be discussed on this occasion.

Mr. Hamlin, unwilling to disturb the solemnity of the meeting, briefly rejoined:

"*If slavery is recognized by the Constitution, it is none the less a sin, and it is none the less our duty to confess and forsake it.*"

Rev. Dr. Peter Parker, late a missionary to China, but now a wealthy citizen of Washington, here interposed, and remarked with some feeling, "That unless these foreign exciting topics were kept out of the meeting, no good would be accomplished." And thus the *gag law* applied by Dr. Samson was sustained by Dr. Parker, and slavery was sustained as an institution too sacred to be questioned. But I learn from Mr. Hamlin that he was approached, after the service was over, by one of the most distinguished and talented ministers in the city, who assured him that he had for some time been debating the propriety of speaking out on this question—that his feelings were entirely in coincidence with those of Mr. H., and that he with difficulty constrained himself to silence for the present, until a favorable occasion shall arise for speaking out. Other distinguished clergymen, Presbyterian and Episcopal, are known to be strongly anti-slavery, and occasionally give no uncertain evidences that they are heart and soul against the institution.

Observer.

### *THE PATTERSON CAMPAIGN.*

Washington correspondents state that it is ascertained that Gen. Patterson's campaign in Virginia cost the government fully $10,000,000; and that the sole result was the capture of some twenty fugitive slaves, and the return of them to their masters. Is not this enough for $10,000,000? What patriot will stop to count the cost of fulfilling our fraternal obligations to our Southern brethren? Who will question our fraternal fidelity to the South, when we can point to $10,000,000 expended to return twenty fugitive colored persons to secession masters?

But this is only a trifle of the cost of our fidelity to the South in this case. It exhausted Gen. Patterson's energies so that he could not attack Johnston, nor prevent his junction with Beauregard; and thereby it cost us the defeat at Manassas. A hundred million would be a low estimate of the cost of returning these twenty negroes. And yet, considering the moral effect that this evidence of our fidelity to slavery must have on the South, and especially on the Union men of the border slave States, it must be regarded as cheap.

But this is only the beginning of our patriotic sacrifice to our fraternal obligations. For them we are conducting the war on peace principles, making it subject to the protection of the rebels in the possession of their slaves; and because we make this species of property sacred in the hands of the rebels in arms, we have to exempt all their property from the penalty of rebellion, and from the fate of war, in order to preserve our consistency. Thus we are carrying on a war at a cost of a million of dollars a day, subject to our fraternal obligations to slavery; and to no purpose, so long as it continues to be waged on peace and rebel protection principles. In view of this immense cost of fulfilling our obligations to the South, the expenditure of Gen. Patterson seems a trifle, and the result brilliant. These twenty negroes represent something more than a market value. They represent our fraternal obligations to the South; and in that view of the case they are cheap at half a million each, and at the cost of the defeat of our grand army.—*Cincinnati Gazette, Sept.* 26.

### *THE DUTY OF THE NATION TO BREAK EVERY YOKE.*

#### THE TESTIMONY OF DR. TYNG.

[Concluding portion of a Sermon, preached on Fast-day, by the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Pastor of St. George's Episcopal Church, New York.]

The demanded supremacy and universal acknowledgment of established slaveholding, was the one real occasion of this struggle. This was the demand, pressed in every variety of shape, and by every class of public appeal. In Congress, in the Courts, in public addresses, in Convention resolutions, they have said to the resisting people: Acknowledge it; cease to contend with it; allow its establishment; submit to its dominion; it is the right, and the only right relation of the black man to the white, or of labor to capital; it is Scriptural; it is benevolent; it is humane; it is refining; it is exalting; no other system of social dependence and services is equally so; allow its universal sway and law, and we will consent to be at peace. This was the constant cry in the time of peace. This was the varied cry for war. This was the unceasing demand of those who have made the war. A vast portion and a final majority of the people have calmly but earnestly resisted the extension of this oppression in every shape. They would earnestly have desired, in a peaceful colonization, in a liberal purchase at any cost, in any system of progressive and gradual emancipation, to have removed the evil, unitedly and peacefully. Every offer, every suggestion was refused and reviled; and now it has been forced into the issue of war. And the government must go forward, and the rising people must speak unto them that they go forward, and make the final issue of the war the settling of this all-corroding question. It has now come before the tribunal, without our seeking it. Let us take care that the cause be so righteously adjusted, that there be no further appeal to the vindicating and chastening providence of God, in future contests for its sake. Its merits are now in contest in our mature generation. Let us not, in timorous hesitation, throw it forward to our children or their children, to adjudicate in further loss of blood and peace and treasure to them, as an issue which our time-serving policy weakly dreaded to meet. Let it cost us what it may, our interest, and the welfare of our posterity, demand that we should not again throw forward the load upon others. We hesitated at the demand of righteousness and mercy in the complete overthrow of this system of bondage, when, a quarter of a century since, 2,000,000 were the clients for our justice. Is it an easier task now that they have increased to 4,000,000? Will the case be more readily adjudicated in the future doublings of the numbers involved? Why shall we require our sons to bear a yoke which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear? As long as it remains unsettled, we are not only at war among ourselves, we are at war with Providence, with justice, with God. Well did Mr. Jefferson say, when this people were in their infancy, of little more than half a million: "I tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just." Had the men of his day removed the load forever, how peaceful and free from fear and contest would have been our dispensation and appointed life. Every motive of interest, of justice, of duty to our country and duty to our posterity, requires that we should determine on the absolute extinction of this burden now. Others have the responsibility of bringing up this subject to view in a shape and relation which we should never have desired. Let us not lose the occasion of putting it, in a final extinction of slavery

in all its aspects, righteous, lofty, and just; and would insure a permanent dominion of peace, because it would leave no festering sore in the body, or gall-bearing root in the ground. For such a cause, and in such a crisis, thus to be settled on principles of righteousness and truth forever, we may surely lift up the prayer of faith, and reverently and acceptably ask the blessing of a just and holy God, confessing our crime as a nation in this prolonged injustice, and imploring his mercy, "that our arms may be blessed and made effectual for the reëstablishment of law, order, and peace throughout our country," and that God himself may be our God, as our fathers' God, forevermore.

## OUR FIRST MARTYR.

BY PHŒBE CARY.

*"Man Proposes, God Disposes."*

Men silenced on his faithful lips
Words of resistless truth and power;
These words, reëchoing now, have made
The gathering war-cry of the hour.

They thought to darken down in blood
The light of freedom's burning rays;
The beacon-fires we tend to-day
Were lit in that expiring blaze.

They took the earthly prop and staff
Out of an unresisting hand:
God came, and led him safely on,
By ways they could not understand.

They knew not, when from his old eyes
They shut the world for evermore,
The ladder by which angels come
Rests firmly on the dungeon's floor.

They deemed no vision bright could cheer
His stony couch and prison ward:
He slept to dream of heaven, and rose
To build a Bethel to the Lord!

They showed to his unshrinking gaze
The "sentence" men have paled to see;
He read God's writing of reprieve,
And grant of endless liberty.

They tried to conquer and subdue
By marshaled power and bitter hate:
The simple manhood of a man
Was braver than an armed state.

They hoped at last to make him feel
The felon's shame, and felon's dread;
And lo! the martyr's crown of joy
Settled forever on his head!

## GET RIGHT WITH GOD.

[Extract from the Fast-day Sermon of the Rev. Dr. Eddy, Pastor of the Harvard Street Baptist Church, Boston.]

We inquire for the crimes which the President wishes us to confess. We are a proud, vain, extravagant nation. We have profanity, Sabbath-breaking and gambling, public profligacy, enormous in extent and perfect in detail. But these are not the sins for which God is correcting us. Rising above all these is one colossal form, one mammoth crime—*slavery*, the cause of all our troubles. The Constitution, as falsely interpreted by the Supreme Court, is its corner stone; the Capitol is its altar; thirty-four States are its pillars; treason, fraud, anarchy, are its developments. No nation on earth has a crime like ours—a pyramid of sin four million steps high. While we confess this sin, we should ask the President to use all lawful means for its suppression.

Our magistrates sometimes ask us to confess sins which they are supporting. If the President would inquire of Sir Matthew Hale, Blackstone or John Quincy Adams, he would learn that in a time of war, confiscation and emancipation are lawful and proper. We would guard all the rights of the South, but seceders, rebels and traitors have forfeited all claim on the Constitution and the government. Slavery stands in the way of advance and success, and the question has narrowed down to this, "Are we willing to lose the Union in a desire of negro bondage?" "Shall we throw away the lives of our men and squander our fortunes to keep this infernal system intact?" This war is a war of slavery on the General government, on the Constitution, on the flag. Why should we hesitate to overthrow it? Why should we deal with it as if it was a blessing too great to be disturbed?

When the glorious proclamation of Fremont went abroad, it carried joy to the Unionists, all through the loyal States. It was the first heavy blow in the right direction. It has now reached England, and is being hailed by our friends as an honorable omen of the future. But the explanation of the President will pursue it, to show to the world that we are not yet up to our duty, not yet ready to fulfil our mission.

As to success, I have not much hope of it until we are right with God. We have expected mastery, but have not received it, and we have reason to believe that God is allowing us to be beaten to bring us into the right position. One or two more defeats, and we shall be obliged to come to *Emancipation* as a stern military necessity. This idea is very unpopular yet, but in twelve months it will be the demand of the whole, of all classes and parties in the loyal States. We have only to wait; it is a question of time, and time brings strange changes.

Why, only seven months ago *war* was unpopular. It was gravely said in Faneuil Hall that we would not fight. He who said war would come and blood would flow, was ridiculed as an Abolitionist. But the change has come, and war is the most popular of themes. Six months ago, any sympathy for poor, unfortunate, insane John Brown, would have met with severe condemnation, but since then regiments of soldiers have gone through the streets of Boston singing hallelujahs to John Brown's memory, while women waved their handkerchiefs, and old men wept with sympathy. All that is wanted to make emancipation popular is time, and in our day time moves fast, revolutions hurry on, the great world is on the run. The idea of emancipation is a little way ahead of us—we shall overtake it in less than twelve months. Those who to-day are gravely shaking their heads, as if the thing was an absurdity, will then be riding it Jehu-like. Men who are begging us not to mention it in the pulpit, will claim the honor of its invention.

And now what shall we do? Get right with God, then take up the loan and fill up the army. Let party considerations be ignored, let men who foster party strife feel the disapproval of all true patriots. Let all feel an invincible determination to sustain the government, though it consume the resources of the country for a century. Let the Governor of this State say to the Federal Government—"You can have from Massachusetts all the money and men you want to sustain the Constitution, defend the flag, and restore the Union; *but not a dollar of money, not a drop of blood for slavery.*"

O would it not be glorious to come out of this conflict with the only stain on our free flag erased, with a territory embracing 3,000,000 square miles, on which not a slave could be found, the plantations of the South converted into great manufacturing villages, furnishing employment to thousands of industrious white people! And the time will come. Jehovah is at work bringing about his mighty purposes. Whatever may happen to the old ship Union, let her be under the same Constitution and the same banner. Clear the deck of traitors and slaves, pipe all hands to duty, strike up the music under which we have so often marched to victory!

"Nail to the mast the holy flag,
Set every threadbare sail,
Then give her to the God of storms,
The lightning and the gale."

She will outride the storm, and at length the stars and stripes will wave where now floats the bastard flag of treason, from Boston to New Orleans, from Faneuil Hall to the Gulf of Mexico.

Feeling at the West.—"M. D. C." (we presume the letters stand for Moncure D. Conway), writing from Cincinnati to *The Christian Inquirer*, says:

"There is a hard, burning feeling out here at the exception taken by the President to Gen. Fremont's proclamation, which, as far as the public know, is universal. It is most seriously felt at the recruiting offices, which were all doing a great business under the prospect of being with Fremont, but which are now utterly paralyzed. Several of our wealthy citizens who had sent on large sums of money to take the government loans, instantly countermanded their orders—among these, our old friend, Davis B. Lawler. Nothing can describe the thrill of delight that followed Fremont's proclamation here; nothing the disheartened chill that followed the exception thereto. Why is there not some sensitiveness to acts of Congress, when Gen. McClellan returns five fugitives against the express declaration of Congress that 'it is no part of the duty of our military arm to catch or return fugitive slaves'? Why is the sensitiveness reserved for cases where some things bear *against*, instead of *for* slavery? Fremont violated no law; McClellan did.

"Things will be dark enough out here. We heed no warning, consider no experience, but, right under the Sinai where God is thundering his law, still bow before the accursed idol that seems to have infatuated our whole country."

The Right Word.—We are glad to see that *The Christian Inquirer*, the expositor of Unitarianism in this city, does not follow Doctors Bellows and Osgood in denouncing as fanaticism the call upon the government to strike off the chains of the slaves. The editor, in an able article, suggested by the recent Fast, says:

"But there is one thing to be done, if we would have for our allies the invincible armies that for ages on ages have been contending against evil—the veteran angels of the hosts of the living God, vital in every part, full of courage, full of victory. It is to end slavery. We do not say to-day or to-morrow, but as soon as the people and the constitutional powers can move in the matter. It must be done. We fought one war of independence, and we did not do it. We are now fighting the second war of independence. God, patient and long-suffering, gives us another chance, and we must do it this time. We must finish the work which our fathers left undone. But if we do not, we believe that God, in whose hands are all the nations as the dust of the balance, will end us as a nation, because we did not put an end to our great national sin. This is the prevailing voice from the St. Lawrence to Mason and Dixon's line—yea, and south of it—and from the Atlantic to the Pacific: Free the slaves. Proclaim liberty to all that are in the land. This war must not end, and leave the cause of the war, and the cause of any number of future wars, just as flourishing as ever. It must be ended deliberately, constitutionally; but it must be ended. It must be done with compensation and alleviation, and a Christian benevolence to all parties concerned; but it must be done. This is not fanaticism. This is simple Christian good sense. But we can bide the time."


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1861.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."


## SENATOR SUMNER'S SPEECH.

We lay before our readers to-day the admirable speech of Mr. Sumner before the Republican Convention at Worcester, Massachusetts. We shall not invite their attention to it, for we are sure they can not keep their attention away from it, and it will well repay all that they have to bestow. It is a bold, clear and conclusive exposition of the policy which the United States government should adopt, and make the vital principle of their action, in the present war. Mr. Sumner is the first public man of eminent station who has dared to indicate the true and only way of escape for this nation out of its dangers, and whether his counsel be hearkened unto or mocked, he will go into history as the first man of high political rank who has discerned and not shrunk from proclaiming this saving truth. Many men have hinted at it, a few have uttered it boldly through the press or by speech, and great multitudes everywhere have received it joyfully, as the only salvation of the country. But Mr. Sumner is the first man of the highest political position who has uttered the wise words which are for the healing of the nation, if it be not indeed sick unto death from the crown of its head to the sole of its feet. It will confirm his reputation as a true patriot and a far-seeing statesman with foreign countries and with posterity, even if his contemporary countrymen shut their ears to his warning words. Should this generation stone him, their children will build his sepulchre as that of a true prophet and their own best friend.

But we do not believe, and we have reason for the faith that is in us, that he will have to wait for the verdict of posterity to justify and exalt the great truth his speech embodies. Indeed, we are confident that his words will find a response in all that is best of the North, and not only in what is best in quality, but what is strongest in numbers. The Northern masses are not such fools as the party leaders and editors think them. They know what occasioned this war, and they see what should be its result, if it be worth the fighting. They are willing to fight and to pay—they are free with their money and their blood—but it is not to bring back the state of things existing before the war begun. If they had been content to submit to the domination of the slave-drivers, they need not have made the demonstration in the direction of checking it which resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln. They see through the conspiracy which resulted in the present civil war, and they are not disposed to make themselves art and part of it by strengthening the hands of their enemies and paralyzing those of their friends. The difficulty is that the expression of public sentiment by the press and from the stump is usurped by men who do not justly represent the sense of the people. Political leaders are much the same in all parties. The Republican leaders are too often as ready to bring their principles to the best market as the Democrats, and they cry out against any man who seems like to damage it. The Democratic papers and speakers, those especially who have grown fat on the crumbs fallen from the slave-drivers' table while they were masters of the nation, long for those drippings of the fleshpots again, and abhor anything that looks towards the discomfort of that institution, homage to which was the price of all their joys. Thus the voice of the press is oftentimes anything rather than the voice of the people. And we are sure it is so in this case, as far as it is uplifted in condemnation of Mr. Sumner's speech.

This exposition of the policy which the nation should adopt is statesmanlike, in the highest and truest sense of the word. It is the statement of what is essential to the preservation and building up of the State, in its largest and Federal sense. It looks not merely to the help which such a policy would secure to the nation from the black men of the South, but to the help to be looked for from the white men of the North. The English papers, of whose lack of sympathy to us ward we complain so much, have expressed the precise weakness of the Northern cause, when they say that we cannot tell what we are fighting for. The position of the South is strictly logical, and presents but a single issue, which all mankind can understand. They ask for independence, and are fighting to compel its recognition. We are fighting for Union with States which only ask to be rid of us. The possibility or policy of compelling such a Union, under such circumstances, we maintaining the sanctity of slavery with the same pertinacity as the enemy, which all the world sees to be the *gist* of the quarrel, is a thing which we are a little unreasonable in complaining that the English world cannot appreciate. If we should at once avow that slavery lies at the bottom of all our national troubles, and declare our intention of abolishing it as a condition precedent of a continuance of the Union, all the European world would see that we had a definite object for our arms, and all the Yanceys and Dudley Manns, who seem now to have the direction of the English press, could not prevent universal England from demanding that all sympathy and all help, consistent with neutrality, should be found fighting on our side. And, more than this, we should have the universal heart of the North, and West beating high and strong in unison with the efforts of the government. We have before us a letter from Illinois, which says that there were more enlistments in two or three days after Fremont's proclamation than in weeks before. All "the nerve and bone of the land" was eager to hurry forward to the war. But the modification of the President had entirely quenched the enthusiasm of the people, and they had relapsed into the indifferent condition of mere seekers after the latest news.

In point of fact, it was the inhering belief that this war could end only in the abolition of slavery, that has given its life and energy to the popular support of it. The people were willing to wait for the direct action of the government, all the difficulties in the way of which they saw clearly enough, as long as they were satisfied that the government was not unwilling to accept the alternative of emancipation, when it had to choose between that and disunion. Mr. Lincoln's instructions to Gen. Fremont have had a most chilling effect on the popular enthusiasm which fed the war. It looked as if the government intended to make slavery still the paramount interest of the country, and to yield the independence of the revolted States, unless a reconciliation could be negotiated on that basis. In this case, what is there to fight for? Why not surrender at once, and let the South have whatever it asks—whether it be the independence of the United States or supremacy within them? The fatal influence of the border States, and especially that of Mr. Holt of Kentucky, over the mind of Mr. Lincoln, which dictated that modification of the Fremont proclamation, has done more to paralyze the Northern arm than all the successes of the secessionists. Already the decay of the volunteering enthusiasm has compelled the contemplation, at least, of compulsory drafting. This is from no want of patriotism, but from the want of an intelligible purpose worth fighting for. The wise suggestions of Mr. Sumner provide this purpose, and it is one which is even more important for the effect it is to have upon the white friends of the government than upon the negroes. This simple policy embraces the future as well as the present. It suggests the only way in which the secessionists can be subdued in the field, and the only method by which the future of a great and united nation can be secured. The gift of statesmanship is that which discerns the fortunate moment for the change which is to affect the destinies of States. This is precisely what Mr. Sumner has done, and done well. If the nation be ready to go in the direction he points out, it has a chance of success. If it be not, its defeat and disgrace is inevitable.

For, we apprehend, it is now palpable to all eyes that the authorities at Washington have been out-generalled. Whether the rebels have more men or not, they have succeeded in the greatest effort of generalship, which is to bring a greater force to bear upon a particular point than the enemy. Hence the disasters of Bull Run, of Springfield, and of Lexington. It may be that Gen. McClellan deserves all the credit he enjoys for generalship. But it is impossible that anybody should know that he does. For he has never had the opportunity of showing it. His highest rank in actual service was that of Captain, and no man can show as a Captain the ability necessary to a great General. There is a vast difference between a hundred men and two hundred thousand. Up to this point, he has certainly not been a match for his adversaries. Davis, or Johnston, or Beauregard, whoever it is that has the supreme direction of the Confederate strategy, has succeeded in outwitting the national chieftain. While they were inducing him, by feints, to concentrate his forces at Washington—probably at no time, since Bull Run, in more danger than New York—and even to call away troops from Gen. Fremont—his skillful antagonist was playing his game for the subjugation of Missouri and Kentucky. In this he found an unlooked-for assistant in President Lincoln, and, in consequence, scarcely less than a miracle can save Gen. Fremont from being crushed, and Missouri and Kentucky secured to the cause of secession. Then the enemy can well concentrate his forces about Washington—probably throwing them upon the Maryland side of it—and put his cause upon the hazard of a battle, in which, with practised troops, flushed with victory and animated by hatred, his chances would be at least as good as those of the United States. It is by no means improbable that Madison may not be the only President that Washington may see flying privily away, and with infinitely more enduring consequences. Then, and it may be soon, the government may see that of all the public men that have offered it their advice, the wisest was the great Senator of Massachusetts.

## POSITION OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONARY BOARD.

Another Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has passed, with no evidence either of penitence or reformation in regard to the shameful position which they took last year respecting slavery. So determined has been their adherence to a course of complicity with this sin, and so large has been the majority of them that voted down every remonstrance in behalf of the slave, that probably the members who had made protest in former years thought it useless any longer to attempt to change so corrupt a body. This estimate is probably correct. Yet, for the sake of those young members of the Churches who, in the coming year, are to be urged with fervent appeals to pay the debts of the Board, and who still remain ignorant of its unworthiness—and for the sake of keeping on record, from year to year, the amount of departure, not only from Christian purity, but from truthfulness, candor and fair dealing, by the clerical managers of this body—it would have been better, we think, again to call upon them for repentance and reformation, and again to make open statement of their offences requiring confession and amendment.

Not to omit our own duty in this matter, we state below, in the form of preambles and resolutions, those particulars of the Board's past and present guilt which should, in our judgment, have been presented for discussion and adoption (or, in failure of these, for the exposure of the Board's unworthy conduct before the public) at the Annual Meeting just closed.

RESOLUTIONS.

I.

Whereas, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have, for the last fifteen years, pursued a self-contradictory policy in regard to slavery, whereby their words and deeds have been at variance; admitting (in the investigation extorted from them by the remonstrances of some of their members) that "*Domestic slavery is at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the Gospel*," but, at the same time, through all those years, expressly authorizing the admission of slaveholders to their Cherokee and Choctaw Mission Churches as Christians—therefore,

Resolved, That the Board are bound in duty—alike to the Gospel which they assume to preach, to the interests of morality and humanity, to the Indians, whose vicious practice of slaveholding they have helped to confirm, and to those of their own members and patrons who, for many years, have urged the breaking off of their complicity with slavery—to make open and immediate confession of their sins, and to take measures for the conversion of the Cherokee and Choctaw Church-members to Christianity.

II.

Whereas, the Cherokee and Choctaw nations have for forty years been practising, defending and extending a system which the Board admit to be "*at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the Gospel*," and whereas those nations have now given a new proof of their unchristian character, by joining the rebel States in their war for the supremacy of the Slave Power, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Board to reconsider and retract their declaration, made in the Annual Meeting of 1860, that "The Cherokees are a Christian people"; and also to record their dissent from the representation just published by their senior Secretary—in his "Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board"—that the Choctaws are also a Christian people, and that the appropriate work of the Board, in relation to them, has been successfully fulfilled.

III.

Whereas, it has providentially come to light, notwithstanding the unjustifiable silence of the missionaries of this Board among the Choctaws, that on January 2d, the first Sunday in 1859, a female member of the Stockbridge Mission Church (under the pastoral care of Rev. Cyrus Byington) was burned alive at that station, at the instigation, and in the presence, of Mrs. Harkins, a "sister" in the same Church—and whereas, a diligent inquiry of the missionary pastor and others has failed to show the the slightest exercise of "discipline" by the Church in question upon the murderess (the missionary pastor "*refusing* to give any information or explanation," when inquired of by a Christian brother)—and whereas, there is no evidence that the six other Churches then maintained by the Board among the Choctaws, or any one of them, took the slightest notice of this horrible crime, therefore,

Resolved, That these appalling facts—the natural result of that tolerance of slavery, and free admission of slaveholders to the mission Churches, which have been practised for forty years by the Board's missionaries among the Choctaws—are absolutely incompatible with the recently published representation of the senior Secretary (above alluded to), that the Choctaws are a Christian people, and that the appropriate work of the Board among them has been successfully fulfilled.

IV.

Whereas, the only attempt at a defence of the conduct of the Stockbridge Church which has yet appeared (an anonymous letter, which may be seen p. 244 of the recently published book—"Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery"), represents, in excuse for the neglect of discipline in this case, that "the families in question" are so powerful and so lawless that any attempt even to institute *legal measures* for the trial and punishment of the murderers "would be simply ridiculous," therefore,

Resolved, That the state of manners and morals thus disclosed among the heads and rulers of the Choctaw nation (a nation represented by the Prudential Committee and by the missionaries as having been improving, and not deteriorating, for the last ten years), throws most serious doubt on the *italicised* declaration made by that Prudential Committee, in their Annual Report for 1852, that "*The Choctaws have a good government*," and shows the danger of putting inplicit confidence in the past and present representations of that Committee.

V.

Whereas, a sifting of the statement furnished by the Prudential Committee, in their Annual Report for 1860, respecting the spiritual condition of the Cherokees, shows the following details to be included in that statement, namely—that only 136 Cherokees, out of 21,000, were members of the Board's mission Churches—that this Church-membership comprises "very few young persons," that it "has not materially increased for many years," and that it has "scarcely any promise of future accessions"—that these Cherokee Christians have "no active native preachers"—that even the *congregations* (Church-members and others, Cherokee, white and colored) which usually assembled at their four stations, were only 40, 60, 80 and 75, making but 255 *hearers* of the Board's preaching, out of 21,000—and finally, that "if it were possible, *as it is not*, to procure native pastors for the small Churches at each of these places, THE PEOPLE COULD NOT BE INDUCED TO SUPPORT THEM": and whereas it is neither true nor decent to call the 21,000 Cherokees "a Christian nation" upon such grounds, even in the loosest sense in which the word Christian is ever used—therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Board to reconsider and retract their unjustifiable statement, made one year ago at their Annual Meeting in Boston, that "The Cherokees are a Christian people."

VI.

Whereas, it is preëminently the duty of those who assume to be teachers of Christianity to make reparation as well as confession, after having led astray souls whose spiritual guidance was committed to them—therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the American Board, at the earliest possible period, to send really Christian missionaries among the Cherokees and Choctaws, and to counteract the false doctrines taught by their late missionaries; raising up, if possible, true Churches of Christ among those half-civilized nations, but, at all events, refusing to prostitute the Christian name by applying it to determined slaveholders, or to Churches sheltering, practising, or defending slavery.

VII.

Whereas, it is self-contradictory and impious to labor to support the very thing which we pray God to remove—and whereas it is a perversion and abuse of prayer to make it the substitute for work, *indolently asking God* to do that which he has made it *our* duty to *labor* for, therefore,

Resolved, That the resolution, unanimously adopted by the American Board at its Annual Meeting just closed, imploring *God* to remove slavery—while their last year's testimony in favor of slavery remains unretracted, and while their practical recognition of it as right and Christian, for forty years past, at their Cherokee and Choctaw mission stations, is bearing pernicious fruit in aid of the Southern rebellion, without the beginning of an attempt on their part, as yet, to counteract that false teaching, or to reform the people whom they have corrupted—is a new item in their long account of sins; convicting them alike of guilt in the past, and of impenitence in their commencement of another year.

—Another evidence of the Board's unrepentant state in respect to its complicity with slavery, and of the insincerity of any anti-slavery professions it may make, is seen in the fact of the reëlection, at the recent Annual Meeting, of the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, a well-known defender of slavery, as a member of the Prudential Committee.

## A VOICE FROM OVER THE SEA.

"The Evangelical Alliance" hardly needs an introduction to our readers. It will be enough to say that it is a voluntary league of representatives of the various orthodox sects, from all portions of the civilized world, to promote the religious views and objects in which they have a common interest. The conference for the present year was held in Geneva, Switzerland, commencing on the 2d and closing on the 12th of September. Eminent clergymen and laymen, of different denominations, from almost every country in Europe, were present. Those who remember the fermentation produced in the same body, a few years since, while sitting in Great Britain, by the introduction of the question of slavery, and the efforts of eminent American divines (Doctors Cox, Beecher, Kirk and others) to stave off the subject as one calculated to create division, will be agreeably surprised to learn that the Alliance embraced the occasion afforded by the present rebellion to condemn slavery and exhort the people of this country to use the appropriate means for its extinction. The principal representative of American orthodoxy in the body was the Rev. Dr. Baird, conspicuous at home for his inveterate hostility to the anti-slavery movement, and for thorough sympathy and identification with the pro-slavery party in the Churches. The Alliance, it seems, devoted one whole session to the hearing from Dr. Baird an account of the origin and causes of the American war. We have seen no report of his address, but we may safely assume that it was such as would meet the approval of the New York *Observer* and kindred prints. The Alliance, however, subsequently set forth its opinions and feelings as follows:

"The Conference of Evangelical Christians, assembled at Geneva from various countries, desire hereby to convey to their brethren of the United States of America an expression of deep sympathy under the sad and terrible crisis in which they now are placed; they would unite in earnest and persevering prayer that this calamity may be overruled by God to the furtherance of the interests of humanity, of the cause of freedom and of our common Christianity. Impressed with the conviction *that the origin of this war is to be traced to slavery*, the Conference would entreat Almighty God to dispose the hearts of his own people in America to use the means dictated by wisdom and Christian principle for the speedy and complete suppression of a system alike opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and to the peace, prosperity and progress of that great people. And, whereas, our brethren of the United States have appointed Thursday, the 26th inst., as a day of special humiliation and prayer, this Conference earnestly invite their fellow-Christians of various countries to unite with the brethren there before the throne of grace in humiliation and prayer, remembering the words of Scripture—'If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it.' J. Adrien Naville, President.

"David Tissot, Secretaire du Bureau Cenevois."

However the blear-eyed politicians and priestly parasites of this country may talk of putting down the rebellion while protecting and cherishing the institution in which it has its root, the people of Europe are all looking and longing to see our government vindicate its own honor and render obedience to God by striking off the chains of the slaves.

The One Great Theme, which absorbs the anxious thought of the friends of justice and humanity at the present time, is the Duty and Necessity of the Abolition of Slavery by the War Power, as the only means of saving the country from the impending judgments of God. Four papers, presenting this question in its most important and solemn aspects, will be found in our columns this week, viz.:

**A Sermon by Dr. Cheever,**
**A Speech by Senator Sumner,**
**An Argument by Orestes A. Brownson,**
**Extract from Dr. Tyng's Fast-day Sermon.**

It is not often that a single number of our paper contains such an accumulation of argument in support of the same measure, from four eminent men, representing as many different classes of the American people. The coincidence is striking, and, let us hope, an omen of the speedy success of the measure so powerfully as well as variously urged and illustrated. May we not hope that words so timely and eloquent will kindle among our readers an irrepressible enthusiasm for emancipation—an enthusiasm that will show itself in earnest and self-sacrificing efforts to arouse the government and the people to the performance of their duty in breaking every yoke? Does any one ask, What can I do? We reply: Circulate in every part of the town in which you reside the petition to Congress which you will find in another column. Give every man and woman within three miles of your residence a chance to sign it. Don't wait for others to undertake the work, but do it yourself, and do it thoroughly.

Notice.—Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, Cleveland, Ohio, is an Agent for The Anti-Slavery Standard; and is fully authorized to receive new subscriptions to the same, as well as payments on old accounts. Mrs. Brown's address is 288 Superior street.

Dr. Cheever's Discourse, to which we have given place on the first page, will be published a few days hence in pamphlet form. It ought to be scattered, like autumnal leaves, for the healing of the nation.

## MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

**"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the Inhabitants thereof."**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

The undersigned, citizens of State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

## LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

Marlboro, Ohio, Sept., 1861.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

I was just reading of the sudden death and the burial of Barclay Coppic. He was murdered, with many others, at Platte Bridge, in the terrible disaster caused by the myrmidons of secession, who so disabled the bridge as to throw a whole train of cars into the river.

A year has wrought some changes. The Chicago platform pronounced the like of Coppic *the gravest of criminals!!* He was one of the few (fortunate or unfortunate) who escaped from Harper's Ferry, after its capture by his peerless leader, Captain John Brown, and the twenty men who followed him in that grand adventure, two years ago. Edwin Coppic, brother of Barclay, was captured and hung as a great and *grave criminal*. His body reposes in a cemetery in Salem, a few miles from this place. Both brothers were natives of this vicinity, and of Quaker extraction. Their mother still survives, a quiet, modest, unassuming old lady, a specimen, in speech and dress, of the ancient members of that sect.

The last time I saw Barclay Coppic was at an anti-slavery meeting. It was last November or December. There had been threats of a mob for several days, and he and two other young men came seven miles on horseback, in a very cold night, all armed with revolvers (Barclay carrying three), to look after my safety. The ringleader of the rioters was a young Republican, and the son of a minister. Of this he seemed very proud.

Our meeting was very full, in the largest house in town, and was, on the whole, quite satisfactory. I did not, however, know my real danger, nor yet who were to have been my protectors, had violence been offered me.

At the close, a gentleman and lady asked me to get into their carriage and ride home with them for some refreshments, conversation, and business connected with the anti-slavery enterprise.

This accident separated me from my gallant protectors, but not wholly from my foe; for I was immediately introduced to two burly, bully-looking youngsters, one of whom I recognized as the leader of the mob. I asked him what I said in the meeting which gave offence. His reply included the words, "damned niggers and damned Abolitionists." I said, you do not talk like a gentleman. "I would have you know that *I am the son of a preacher, and voted for Lincoln, not a month ago*," was his savage reply. I said, in a good-natured way, I should think you might be the son of a preacher by your talk. In a burst of fury, he seized a heavy stick of wood and flew towards me. Flourishing the missile over my head, he exclaimed, "*Damn you, shut up!*" He was immediately disarmed and driven out of the house. His half-drunk companion followed him, Fortunate for them was it that Coppic and his friends were not at hand at that moment.

But I have wandered from my purpose.

A year ago, Barclay Coppic was a hunted outlaw. His brother had been hung, and he was known to be guilty of the same "gravest of crimes." He, too, had gone with Captain Brown to Harper's Ferry, on an errand worthy only of a Lafayette or of Him who came especially "*to preach deliverance to the captives.*" For this the marshals were on his track both day and night, with warrants for his immediate arrest. Only the general uprising of an indignant, outraged community saved him from their merciless clutch. Old and young, men and women, determinedto protect him. And they did protect him, defying the law.

A few months later, and the whole North was in arms against the Slave Power, which the immortal Harper's Ferry band had dared alone; and Coppic was gladly commissioned by the government an officer in the army of volunteers.

He died by cruel, relentless, diabolical treachery, before he had met the foe on the field. But he died not ignobly, nor in vain, and he was buried with all the honors. He was borne to the grave, attended by a magnificent military escort, the mournful pageant being graced also with the attendance of "*nearly all the influential people of the city.*"

And thus was one portion of the Chicago platform interpreted, illustrated, and illumined. May all its shameless concessions to slavery prove equally vain.

We had a little tumult at our meeting last evening. It was Mr. Lincoln's Fast, and I opened the exercises with the fifty-eighth of Isaiah. My comments were very distasteful to a few youngsters at the *secession* end of the church, and an officer was sent for to restore order, which was easily done. The meeting was at Lima, where the unsuccessful attempt was made last spring to rescue the poor slave Lucy from her pitiless captors, as she was being dragged back to her whipping-post in Wheeling. How glad we all were to hear, soon after, that she had committed suicide, and so taken herself and her unborn babe beyond the reach of her tormentors!

My meetings continue to be well attended, and the government will yet, I think, see new sorrows, should it persist in its hostility to the noble Fremont. The people seem determined to sustain him, at every cost. He has dealt a fatal blow to the monster, and the President must not seek to break its omnipotent force.

Parker Pillsbury.

A Friend of the Cause in Pennsylvania, a woman, writing to us upon business, makes some observations which we venture to print, as follows:

"I felt an impulse to speak to you as an old anti-slavery friend—not that I had anything especial to say, but it seems to me that we all feel like grasping one another's hands with fresh warmth, and asking, 'Are you not glad to have been an Abolitionist?'

"Ah, we are vindicated, terribly vindicated, now. Our nation is learning, through bitter suffering, what it refused to hear from us—the diabolism of slavery, and its deadly war upon *all* liberty,

"We thought, as a nation, that injustice and prosperity might go hand in hand; behold God's commentary upon this atheism, written in blood! We pointed to our material interests, as the clinching proof of our greatness—but lo! our riches 'have taken wings!' I think we shall emerge from this 'a *wiser*' as well as 'a sadder' people. I have had strong faith that we should remain an undivided nation; but Lincoln's ill-starred letter to Fremont seemed, for a time, almost to close the door of hope. Strange that the President has not yet learned that the compromising border State men, and those in the North who languidly assent to their policy, are not the men who can lead on to victory. It is the *positive* men—the anti-slavery men, whose cry is Liberty and Eternal Right—who alone are the invincible; it is these alone who can fire the heart of the nation, and whose enthusiasm and faith can cause victory to perch upon our banner; and these have felt their hearts sicken and their hands tremble at that letter.

"But I meant not to say many words; I wish The Standard could be sent to all the members of Congress; I wish Cheever's discourse, in last week's paper, could be sowed broadcast over the land. How much I want done—how impatient I am. Well, God is speaking in the Providence of events; if our nation has salt enough to save it, it will be saved, and there we must rest."

## MR. PHILLIPS'S FIRST OF AUGUST SPEECH.

Ghent, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1861.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

The career of Wendell Phillips as an Abolitionist, for wealth of service rendered, nobleness of purpose, cheerful sacrifice of most flattering prospects of popular favor and of much coveted social position—bravely espousing with unwavering constancy the cause of the forlorn and despised slave—is one of the rarest exemplifications of transcendent excellence in human character the world has ever known. His unparalleled eloquence commands the ears of many millions, and, more than we can at present fully realize, has contributed to "leaven" aright the public opinion of his time. The source of his effective power for good has been his severe, critical, conscientious truthfulness, in his treatment of men and institutions—"hewing to the line." While others of his original rank and companionship have prostrated themselves in base acquiescence in the demands of a corrupt pro-slavery public sentiment, living upon the unwholesome fruits of humiliating compromises, he has been upright, loyal to God and to the best welfare of his fellow men, giving fearless utterance to timely criticisms, and to affirmations of duty, at important junctures in the affairs of the nation.

The attention of Abolitionists, on this side of the Atlantic and abroad, is directed to Mr. Phillips's speech on the 1st of August, by Mrs. Martineau, in a paragraph of her letter in the last issue of The Standard. The paragraph is uncomplimentary, and concludes by saying that "the spirit of the speech—its mood of distrust and intolerance—is its own punishment." Mrs. Martineau's criticism, though probably not inspired by an unfriendly purpose, is precisely in line with expressions I have repeatedly heard in reference to Mr. Phillips from our own patriotically conservative, negro-hating apologists for a slaveholding Union.

As in other crises in public affairs in the past, so at this time; if Mr. Phillips had been a little more accommodating and trustful, a little less intolerant towards the compromising experiments in maintaining a slave-holding government, he would have been far more acceptable to multitudes of his fellow-countrymen; and I doubt not would have been welcomed most gladly by them in intimate fellowship. But the slaves' test is a severe one. It was by *that test*, that, on the 1st of August, Mr. Phillips examined—with masterly skill and a most telling effect—the chosen representatives of the people of this country entrusted with the management of affairs; and also the anti-slavery professions and conduct of England. Who shall say, in the position of the slave, that his every utterance, and yet more, would not have been warranted?

Of incalculable value is a bold, fearless, conscientious assertion of the claims of justice and humanity in times of popular excitement, when, as now, multitudes are aroused for action, but, unreflecting, are the more liable to be used for base and unworthy ends such as their own cooler judgment would dissent from. Thousands of men are now marshalled in the Federal army, impelled thither by a generous impulse to serve the cause of Freedom; but alas! how have they thus far been employed? For the greater part in blundering skirmishes, shooting each other, and catching, by order, runaway slaves! All honor to Mr. Phillips, who, in the midst of such scenes, in a nation of timid compromisers drunk with the blood of oppression, says, as on the 1st of August: "So long as I stand here, and four million of black men there, no man in the hearing of my voice shall betray their cause without hearing it." That there is much genuine sympathy with the slave in England, and from a type of character to render it valuable, I fully believe. But I have little doubt that the great body of money-making Englishmen, who have known little of the pro-slavery temptations peculiar to this country, are truly represented by the English steamer which, it is reported, has just run the blockade on our Southern coast, with weapons and supplies for the rebels. That is, they are reckless of the slaves' interests when their own are involved.

I early learned to heartily esteem Mrs. Martineau, through various emanations from her pen, but I dissent from her judgment in relation to Mr. Phillips, and the position, as indicated in her correspondence, to which she would assign American Abolitionists in the conflict now going on. The critical labors of Abolitionists are by no means at an end. But their work has never been exclusively to criticise. It has been to affirm great, universal principles as well. What has been in that respect must still continue to be until emancipation has been proclaimed and carried out. We may hope that we are nearing the end, but should not abate one jot or tittle in effort, until the end is reached.

Aaron M. Powell.

## A VOICE FROM OHIO.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the citizens of this place (Senecaville, O.), on the evening of the 30th ult., called to uphold the hands of

# Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6, 1861.

THE excitement here for a day or two has been intense. The cause of it is the rumor—apparently well founded—that Gen. Wool is to supersede Fremont in the West. So great was the excitement that Secretary Seward has been obliged to telegraph to St. Louis that the report is false. And yet the enemies of Fremont, who comprise many men high in position under the government here, if not the government itself, declare positively that the lull in the storm does not mean peace, but renewed war, as soon as the temper of the people will bear it. The President and several members of Congress *now* say that the story of the removal of Fremont is false, but it is well known to intelligent persons here that it was resolved in Cabinet meeting to destroy or remove Gen. Fremont. There came a sudden change—and why? Simply because the people's voice was heard, and the enemies of the people's man trembled with fear. Dispatches came here on Friday from Missouri and other Western States, that if Fremont were to be summarily dismissed, the army of the West would break up and disperse; that, in fact, already there were indications of a mutinous spirit among the soldiers, and that something must be done to abate it. So Mr. Seward, ever plausible and accommodating "to the hope," telegraphs that Gen. Fremont *is not removed*. He doesn't say anything *of the future*, but at present, *now*, there is no change. Very well—so far, good. The people's voice has terrified the politicians for once, at least.

The story that Gen. Wool is, by and bye, to take the place of Fremont as Commander-in-chief of the army of the West, *if true*, would not satisfy the pro-slavery politicians who are raising the tremendous hue-and-cry against Fremont. Gen. Wool is an anti-slavery man, and I know from his lips that *he* at least among our Generals believes that slavery is the cause of our troubles, and that we shall have no permanent peace till it is put down, or receives its death-blow. Were he in command of the army of the West, we may be sure that if, in his opinion, the emergency justified it, he would not hesitate by an army order to put an end to human slavery in his department.

And now a word about this bitter persecution of Fremont. A few facts should be stated to the people, and I scarcely know a journal which dares to print them but THE STANDARD. The war upon Fremont is engineered by the Blair family—the very men who insisted that he should come home from Europe and take charge of a military department. It is the Blairs who constantly keep the stories flying which are prejudicial to Fremont. Postmaster Blair uses language in the streets towards the friends of the gallant Western General which should cost him his place in the Cabinet. It was only a day or two since that he spoke of them as "Fremont hounds," and boasted that he would beat them yet! Now it must be remembered that before and after Bull Run, Postmaster Blair and Col. Frank Blair openly charged upon Gen. Scott incompetency and cowardice. He was declared by these eminent critics to be "a glutton and a wine-bibber," "a dotard," "an idiot"—in short, he was set down by them to be a fool in every respect. Why did not "the Blairs," if they have the interest of the country so much at heart, try to get up a court-martial upon Gen. Scott or Gen. McDowell? They contented themselves *with talk*. But when Gen. Fremont arrested Col. Blair for insubordination, *then* the family pride was aroused, and "the Blairs" were determined to crush out Gen. Fremont. It is necessary that the people should understand the exact state of the case, that these facts should come out. *The Blair family is at the bottom of the war upon Fremont.* Of course I only mean to say that they lead it, manage it. All the pro slavery politicians in the country follow them. Every man who worships negro slavery now swears by the Blairs. The Sewardites, who fear that Fremont may become a popular idol, fall into the current. The pro-slavery Democrats, who one month ago hated the Blairs, now adore them—because they are determined on Fremont's ruin. The New York *Herald*, which is still the ally of slavery and the rebellion, with its managing Washington correspondent, is in the foul conspiracy; and it would not be strange, with a weak President, if the game were to win. One thing the people must remember—the enemies of Fremont are the most indefatigable and unscrupulous men in the country.

The stories told agaist Fremont by some of his enemies are utterly ridiculous. A gentleman, late a Republican Member of Congress, from the West, but who occupies a lucrative position in one of the departments at present, declared to the writer of this, two days ago, that already Fremont had run up a bill of *eighty-eight millions of dollars!* Just then a gentleman who is connected with the Treasury Department came along. The story was repeated to him. He replied, instantly: "This is a specimen of the falsehoods got up against Fremont. Now, sir, what would you say if I were to tell you that not a million and a-half of dollars have been sent to St. Louis? Such is the fact." The Fremont-haters talk as if they never before heard of disaster and defeat. "Why does not Fremont give battle?" they ask. Why does not McClellan, with ten soldiers to Fremont's one? "How came Fremont to allow Lexington to fall?" they ask. Well—how came Gen. Scott to perpetrate Bull Run? People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw such very large stones.

The Unitarian Church here has invited the Rev. Dr. Channing, late of Liverpool, to its charge. This, too, after he had preached two strong anti-slavery sermons. It is not yet known whether he will accept. This is the Church that drove the talented Conway off because of his anti-slavery. But times have changed, and now to be anti-slavery in the Unitarian Church is not a drawback, is not a cause of unpopularity. But it is the only anti-slavery Church in town. The others are totally corrupt, so far as the slavery question is concerned. This is quite as much the fault of the Republican party as the Democratic. The Republican Senators were eager last spring to elect the worst hypocrite in town—the Rev. Dr. Sunderland—Chaplain of the Senate. This "high priest" never yet has dared show his hand in reference to the rebellion in public, though he goes round among the Republicans here, privately, and talks loudly in favor of the Union and the war. He has rebels in his Church, and does not like to hurt their feelings—and his income—by rebuking treason. The same is true of him and his Church respecting slavery. Nothing is heard of about it in public. Yet the pious Doctor goes round secretly among his Republican hearers and says he never did like slavery—and among his slaveholding members, saying he never did like the Republicans and Abolitionists. Dr. Samson, President of the Columbia College here, is another such man. He is *very* pious. Sumner once had apartments in his house, and the Doctor professed to sympathize with him. Yet he went round among his pro-slavery friends saying that in his opinion Sumner was not hurt by Brooks, but was acting a part for political effect. This he said of his lodger, while pretending to be his warm friend, and telling him that "the murderous outrage upon him was a disgrace to the country." This Samson has been suspected of late of unlawful intercourse with the rebels, but there may be a mistake about it. He is precisely the man one would select for a traitor or rebel. How many clergymen have been found guilty, first and last, of conspiring against the country for the sake of human slavery! What wonder that the people lose their faith in pro-slavery Churches and ministers.

Queer stories are told here of the loyalty of certain persons still kept in office by the President and the Heads of Departments. It would seem as if these stories must be false, were it not for the fact that the rebels always succeed in getting information of the movements of the Federal army on the banks of the Potomac. There *must be* traitors somewhere—either in the Departments or the army. The President, a few weeks ago, appointed one of James Buchanan's Washington favorites a lieutenant in the regular army *after* the Potter Investigating Committee had reported against his loyalty. Of course the intentions of the President were pure. He did not believe the testimony against the man. But did he not commit a blunder? In such times as these, no man against whom a respectable suspicion can lie should be kept in place under the government.

AVON.

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TRACT FOR THE DAY.—"The War and Slavery; or, Victory only through Emancipation," is the title of a tract of 8 pages, just published at this office. It is a reprint of an excellent article, from the pen of D. PLUMB, which appeared in this paper a few weeks since, and which leading friends of the cause deem worthy of the widest circulation at the present crisis. It is not for sale, but for gratuitous distribution. Friends of the cause, who know where light is needed and would be welcomed in respect to the duty and policy of Emancipation under the War Power, are requested to call at this office at once and take as many copies as they can distribute judiciously.

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SLAVERY AND THE LAWS OF WAR.—A series of papers, written by that ever-vigilant champion of human rights, DAVID LEE CHILD, and first published in *The Liberator*, has been reprinted in tract form, (pp. 48), under the following title: "Rights and Duties of the United States Relative to Slavery under the Laws of War. No Military Power to Return any Slave. 'Contraband of War' inapplicable between the United States and their Enemies." This is, in fact, an exhaustive, though succinct, treatise upon the legal aspects of the question now so prominently before the people of this country. Every person who desires to understand the subject thoroughly, and to qualify himself to meet the cavils by which pro-slavery papers and politicians are seeking to confuse and mislead the public mind and restrain the government from the discharge of its plain duty in giving liberty to the slaves, should study this tract. It may be obtained at this office.

# Chronicles of the War.

### From Washington.

We have no war news of special importance from Washington. All is quiet there and in the camps about the Capital. The state of affairs in Missouri still remains the chief topic of interest there. We have a reiteration of the declaration that the President has no intention of superseding Gen. Fremont, but his enemies are working against him with might and main. Balloon reconnoissances show that the main body of the rebels is at Fairfax Court-House. There are no signs of offensive movements, and it is thought that none are immediately contemplated by either side. The strength of the rebels is computed to be 200,000. It is said that Johnston and Smith are anxious for active operations, but that Beauregard is more cautious.

### From Richmond.

A budget of important news has been brought down from Richmond to Fortress Monroe by a number of wounded national prisoners who have arrived there under a flag of truce—the rebels not being able longer to supply their wants, and thinking it more honorable to release them than to allow them to die from neglect. The prisoners report that there are in Richmond about five thousand troops, and that the rebel army on the Potomac is supposed to number over 150,000. The troops are suffering severely for want of medicines, clothing, and certain articles of food—more especially things cut off by the blockade, which are bringing fabulous prices. Apprehensions of an attack on the seaboard caused the greatest anxiety, and Gov. Brown, of Georgia, in anticipation of a descent on Savannah or Brunswick, had recalled five regiments from the Potomac army. Powerful batteries have been erected along the James River, in anticipation of an advance of the national army in that direction. Beauregard, at last accounts, was at Manassas, and Jeff. Davis had returned to Richmond in feeble health.

### From Missouri.

The report of the evacuation of Lexington by the rebels under Price is confirmed. In addition it is stated that Gen. Harris's division, 6,000 strong, when about six miles from Lexington, was attacked by the National forces, supposed to be under Gen. Sturgis, and routed with considerable loss, though the particulars are not given. Our intelligence from that section is not full or clear. Gen. Fremont left Jefferson City on Monday afternoon for Sedalia, accompanied by Gen. McKinstry, with the determination of following Price, whatever direction he may have taken, until he overtakes him, even should it be in Arkansas. It is his declared purpose, after leaving Sedalia, to march from twenty-five to forty miles a day, according to the condition of the roads, in order that he may the more rapidly come up with the main body of the rebels, and force them to an engagement. Meantime Ben. McCulloch's forces—or, perhaps we should say, the forces lately commanded by Ben. McCulloch, as it is again asserted that he is dead—are reported to be on the south bank of the Osage river, awaiting the movement of Gen. Fremont, in order that he may cut off his communication with St. Louis and march on that city. This report is improbable from the fact that on the 25th of September McCulloch issued a proclamation to the people of Arkansas, calling for more troops; which would seem to argue him in no condition to attack a place fortified as St. Louis is well known to be. A dispatch lately received in Louisville from Fort Smith puts down McCulloch's forces at only thirty-five hundred.

The St. Louis *Republican* of the 5th says:

"It is impossible to describe the state of exuberant feeling in this city when the report that Gen. Fremont was to be superseded was authoritatively contradicted. The larger portion of our citizens were indignant at the telegraphic statement that, just as a General was going to the field, with a great personal stake in the result, he was to be recalled for the settlement of some matters of no importance whatever to the country. The denial, however, came in time to prevent much of the mischief that would have otherwise ensued, and served to renew a confidence that had been lagging ever since the question of Fremont's removal was first agitated. Indeed, it now seems as though the break of day had come in Missouri, and that soon the clouds of rebellion and anarchy will be dispelled."

### From Kentucky.

The correspondent of *The Times*, at Louisville, Ky., furnishes some information concerning the effects of Col. Mulligan's surrender at Lexington. He thinks that the result of being thus out-generaled must be disastrous to the national cause in Southern Kentucky, and will induce many wavering people to decide in favor of secession. Buckner is making the most of the affair, and is boldly endeavoring to convert the whole of Southern Kentucky into rebel territory. It is very much feared that all that part of the State south of Green River, will, before Christmas, be as literally a part and parcel of the rebel Confederacy as once loyal Tennessee is. Already all the important strategic points are in the hands of the enemy. These are our correspondent's views, and he very properly urges that, in this as in other cases, the magnitude of the danger must be appreciated before it can be met and averted. The rebel camp at Columbus is believed by a deserter from Pillow's command, to contain some forty thousand men, under command of Gen. Johnston.

From Cairo we learn that Gen. A. S. Johnston is at Columbus, Ky., with 40,000 men. He has fortified the river banks for four miles above that place. Gens. Cheatham, Pillow, and Polk, were also at Columbus on the 29th ult.

### From Western Virginia.

Dispatches received in Washington, from Gen. Rosecrans, contain the comforting assurance that he will be able to fully sustain himself against the combined forces of the rebel Gens. Lee and Floyd.

### The Indians.

The United States Commissioners of Indian Affairs has returned to Washington from an official visit to the tribes in Kansas and Nebraska. He was well received, and was assured of the friendly feelings they entertain toward the National Government. It is believed that no organized Indian forces are with the rebel army, and that only a few of the half-breeds are enlisted as individuals. No doubt is entertained that a large Indian force could be raised in Kansas and Nebraska to operate against any body of those tribes who should be brought into the field by the rebels.

It is stated that John Ross, with 8,000 of the Cherokee Nation, has declared in favor of the Union, and that an influential half-breed named Read had met them in a skirmish near Talequah, the result of which was the defeat of the rebels. This report does not agree with previous accounts from the same quarter, but is considered to be worthy of belief.

### Running the Blockade.

We have important information by way of Washington, concerning the Bermuda, which so recently ran the blockade, and entered Savannah. She is an iron-clad vessel of fifteen hundred tons burden; sailing from Liverpool on the 18th of August, she reached Savannah on the 16th of September. Her cargo contained 18 rifled cannon of 32 and 42 pounds; 2 Lancaster guns of 168 pounds weight; powder, shot, and shells, for this ordnance; 6,500 Enfield rifles; from 200,000 to 300,000 cartridges; 6,000 pairs of army shoes; 20,000 blankets; 180 barrels of gunpowder; a large quantity of morphine, quinine, and other medical stores. The cargo cost $1,000,000. The vessel is now fitting out as a pirate, to prey on the returning California steamers. It is said that Commander Totten is to have charge of her; also, that two more iron-clad steam frigates are expected at Savannah from England, by the 15th of the present month.

### From Hatteras.

The propeller Fanny, in the service of the government, was captured on the 1st inst., by three rebel steamers, while on a trip from Hatteras Inlet to Chicomecomica with supplies. A number of our men were captured, and a quantity of stores fell into the hands of the enemy. An expedition, having for its object the recapture of the vessel taken, set out at once from Fortress Monroe, but has not yet been heard from.

By way of Fortress Monroe we have important news. It appears that on Friday 2,500 rebels came from the mainland with the design of attacking the 20th Indiana regiment, stationed at Chicomacomico; the latter retreated southward toward Hatteras Inlet. Col. Brown reports that during the night, while on the retreat, he passed a large body of rebels who were on the way to cut him off, but who, by reason of the darkness, did not see him; he lost 50 of his men, who were taken prisoners, including the sick and 20 pickets, who could not be called in, owing to his precipitate retirement from his position. On Saturday morning the Monticello steamed around the cape, and after going a few miles met the rebels marching down along the narrow neck of land to attack our troops. The Monticello at once opened fire on them with shells, and keeping up the fire for three hours scattered the rebels like chaff, causing them to run hither and thither for shelter, and subjecting them to a heavy loss, the numbers probably reaching several hundred in killed and wounded. A member of the Indiana regiment who escaped during the excitement of the fight reports that the havoc caused by our shells was terrific, and that Col. Bartow of the Georgia regiment was killed. The official reports of this affair furnish full and graphic details of the engagement; from them it appears that the fire of the Monticello was indeed terribly effective, slaughtering the rebels at every discharge. They have received no punishment like it since the war began. The rout was total, and has taught the victims a severe lesson—one which they will not soon forget.

### Alarm in New Orleans.

Information from New Orleans reaches us by way of Louisville, Ky. From this it appears that considerable excitement exists in the former city concerning the anticipated attack upon it by a National fleet. Columbiads have been planted above and below the city, and other measures for its defense have been taken. It is said, however, that it would be very easy for our troops from Ship Island to take the city in the rear, silence the batteries, and open the way for the approach of the fleet.

### From Fortress Monroe.

There is but little going on here, but they know of it in Norfolk the same day; and, to show conclusively how it is done, I will relate a circumstance which happened this morning while some of the ladies of Secessia were waiting for the truce boat to go over to Dixie. As the Assistant Provost Marshal was holding a child of a few months of age in his arms, while its darling mother was opening her trunks to be searched, he felt something peculiar in a portion of its unmentionable clothing. After a little natural hesitation he felt in the place indicated, and found that letters were secreted therein. He did not, however, let his secret be known until the trunks were all searched, and the pretty lady felt sure that all was right. But alas for her. Our gentlemanly Marshal requested the lady to remove a portion of the child's clothing. Her face flushed, and she tremblingly obeyed; when lo, a large package of letters was exposed to his gaze. They were taken to the office and opened, and several of them contained checks and drafts, while others were filled with valuable information concerning the movements of our forces. Of course the letters were detained, and the lady was ordered to remain here for the present. No ladies are searched, for the reason that there are no female searchers here. It would be a good plan to have a female searcher at this post, and I think the rebels would be less informed in relation to our affairs in future.—*Cor. Herald.*

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## "SABLE CLOUDS."

COLORED SOLDIERS IN NEW ORLEANS.—Mr. Lyman Reynolds, who arrived in New York lately from New Orleans, authorized *The Herald* to say: "Colored regiments, under command of rebel officers, are being organized in the city. The principal arm carried by these men, as well indeed of the whole army, is a sharp bowie knife, about eighteen inches in length. These colored men are drilled with much strictness every day, and, it is believed, will do good service in the war. The expression among all is, 'we will die or win.' Drunkenness is fearfully prevalent among the soldiers, and vice of every description is rampant."

CONTRABANDS IN THE NAVY.—A letter to *The Tribune* from Fortress Monroe says: "The recent order from the Department directs that all 'contrabands' coming into the hands of the Navy shall be placed on board of such government vessels as want that description of hands; that proper papers, records and receipts be made, setting forth the facts in each case; that the negroes be rated at $8 per month and rations, in all equal to $15 per month. These negroes were disposed of in accordance with this order. Several instances of this kind have occurred. This is a rational way of disposing of the 'contraband' falling into the hands of the Navy. It is infinitely the best for the negroes, and at the same time supplies capable hands and seamen at a comparatively cheap rate."

NEGROES "DECLARED FREE MEN" UNDER FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.—Fremont's proclamation is bearing fruit. Twelve negroes, all young men, have arrived here, rescued from slavery by their master's treason and the proclamation. The traitor lives at Independence, Mo., and is a leading secessionist. He had 22 or 23 slaves in all, of whom ten or eleven were women and children, who were unable to leave.

The twelve fled from Independence, but were seized by the rebel pickets. Before they could be sent back, however, their captors had a brush with pickets of the Kansas City Union force, which resulted in the capture of the rebels and negroes. This was on Friday. The master having been ascertained to be a traitor, the slaves were set at liberty, and have come up here.—*Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative, Sept. 10th.*

STATEMENT OF ANOTHER CONTRABAND.—A contraband came into our lines this morning near Fall's Church, and was taken to the headquarters of Gen. McDowell, at Upton's hill. He stated that he was the servant of the surgeon of the Fifteenth Georgia regiment, which was encamped, together with two other regiments, four miles from Fall's Church, on the road leading to Fairfax Court-House. He also said that there are no rebel troops there, excepting those just mentioned; neither were there any fortifications this side of Fairfax Court-House. He gave as a reason for the recent precipitate retreat of the rebel army, as mentioned by officers in his hearing, that they were fearful of a flank movement by the Union army from the direction of Lewinsville; that he had heard his master, the surgeon, say on Thursday last that the fortifications on the river below Washington were very extensive, and that General Beauregard had given orders to close the navigation of the Potomac to our vessels.—*Wash. Cor. Herald, Oct. 1.*

UNCONGENIAL DUTIES.—The statements that the 1st Massachusetts regiment are engaged in the duties of restoring Maryland slaves by force to their owners is received with very little satisfaction by other Massachusetts men here. I am sure that any such work is altogether in opposition to the wishes and feelings of the majority of the officers and men of that regiment. When stationed at Georgetown, some months ago, an escaped slave took refuge within its lines, and was taken into the service of one of the companies. The owner sought for, and was not only permitted to reclaim him, but was given a file of soldiers, by command of the Colonel, to make sure of securing him. This circumstance created a very unpleasant feeling at the time, and I believe that nothing but a strict idea of the necessities of subordination could have induced compliance with so distasteful an order.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

A SLAVE OF CHANCELLOR NICHOLAS.—The following is part of a dispatch from Washington to *The Herald*, under date Oct. 1.

"Two negroes reached here this afternoon from the rebel army. One of them belonged to Chancellor Nicholas, of Dumfries, who is now a captain in the rebel army. He is quite intelligent, says he has been driving a waggon with the army about three months, and has worked some in the trenches—that he has been worked very hard. He has attended upon Captain Nicholas and other officers at meals, and has heard them say that Gen. Beauregard would not attack Gen. McClellan in his fortifications; that he had done his best to call the latter outside of them into another masked battery Bull Run affair, and being satisfied that he would not come, Gen. Beauregard and his army had fallen back. He says Gen. Johnston has suddenly disappeared from Manassas within the last few days, and he had not heard any of the officers say where he had gone, but he had no doubt that the statement he had heard in Washington, that Gen. Johnston is at Leesburg, is true. This colored man says he has heard the estimate frequently made by the officers that there were about one hundred thousand men in the rebel army of the Potomac. He says the army is very much in want of woolen clothing, that what they now have is nearly worn out, that the only overcoats they have were taken at Bull Run. One of these men says there appeared to be plenty of salt where he was, while the other man says it was a very scarce article where he was.

"The Nicholas 'contraband' was brought to Gen. McClellan's headquarters by one of the men belonging to the New York Twenty-sixth Regiment, in Gen. Franklin's brigade. After he was examined by Col. Key, of Gen. McClellan's staff, Col. Key ordered him to Gen. Franklin, with instructions that he be employed in the Quartermaster's Department, and paid wages. The other man was disposed of in the same manner.

"Both of these slaves had been employed by the enemy against the government. This will be the disposition of all such 'contrabands,' who escape to this department, and are known to have been employed by their masters to assist in overthrowing the government."

MISSION TO THE CONTRABANDS.—The American Missionary Association have established a mi-sion among the human contrabands at Fortress Monroe, with the approval of the government and the officers in command, and ask the aid of Christian people in the work. The Rev. Mr. Lockwood, missionary, writes, under date Sept. 4:

"Last evening, while conversing on the piazza of the hotel, I overheard music, and directed my footsteps thither, and in a long building, just outside the entrance of the Fortress, I found a number of colored people assembled for a prayer-meeting. The brother who led in the concluding prayer had a sing-song manner, but his sentiments and expressions were very scriptural and impressive. He prayed that He who brought Israel out of Egypt, Jonah out of the mouth of the whale, and Daniel out of the den of lions, might bring them out into full deliverance, spiritually and temporally.

"I told my mission in few words, and the message was received with deep, half-uttered expressions of gladness and gratitude. They assured me that this was what they had been praying for; and now that 'the good Lord' had answered their prayers, they felt assured that some great thing was in store for them and their people. There are some peculiarities in their prayer-meetings. Their responses are not boisterous; but in the gentle, chanted style. . . . Their themes are generally devotional; but they have a prime deliverance melody, that runs in this style:

"'Go down to Egypt—Tell Pharaoh
Thus saith my servant, Moses,—Let my people go.'"

Accent on the last syllable, with repetition of the chorus, that seems every hour to ring like a warning note in the ear of despotism.

Under date of Sept. 10 Mr. Lockwood says:

"Carey, one of the leaders, informs me that there has been a general and growing expectation among the slaves that God would soon undertake for them. After Mr. Lincoln's election, and before his inauguration, his master said to him, 'You are the cause of all this.' He replied, 'Well, Master, it is only what I have been expecting a long time.' Another leader, named Davis, said that he had been an overseer, and after his conversion, he prayed that God would convert all under his charge. He one day told them, 'God is going to deliver me in some way.' 'They said, 'O no, you are the last one that Master will let go.'

"Many of them seem to be fervent and consistent Christians. Such prayers as they offer cannot but be heard in heaven and answered speedily; and I shall attribute the preservation of the Union, and the deliverance of the bondman more to their prayers than to the power of our national arms; albeit I fully believed in the indispensable use of physical means. Before the Northern army came on, slaveholders and their minions threatened to burn down the colored church, saying: 'It is your prayers that are bringing on these troubles.'

"So far as I have observed there is no intemperance among them. Those who are able are engaged in labor of some kind, and they work as industriously as white laborers, and more so than many. The men work with a will because they work in hope of liberty. They have a great thirst for knowledge."

GOING AFTER HER SLAVES.—*Camp Butler, Newport News, Va., Oct. 6, 1861.* On Wednesday last we were honored by the distinguished visit of a "secesh" lady, a Mrs. Schmeltz, from Yorktown, who came with an escort of a colonel and some other officers, for the purpose of being forwarded to Gen. Wool, whom she wished to consult in regard to some negroes that had taken refuge in the fort. She probably expected that we should gallantly offer her a passage on our steamer to Old Point, and thus give her the desired chance to see our fortifications and camps. But, somehow or other, Gen. Phelps "didn't see it," and only granted her an escort of an officer and twenty men by the overland route to Hampton, on the condition that her own suite were left behind. She stated that she only wanted to get these slaves back, to see them well-provided for during the winter. What disinterested benevolence! And what a set of cold-hearted "Yankees" we must be, who cannot appreciate such magnanimity. We have not learned what was the result of the intended visit, but we rather think that Gen. Wool was not "sheepish" enough to let the negroes return to their beloved mistress, unless they specially desired to do so.

The number of negroes which have deserted from the other side of the river has diminished considerably of late, because all the boats along the shore have either been broken up or taken inside of the batteries. On Tuesday last, however, eight colored boys managed to escape, and such a lot of strong and happy lads it would have done any one good to see. Having been working near Smithfield, in Isle of Wight county, several miles from shore, they could not give us much new information; they corroborated the old statement, that measles and fevers are raging in a fearful degree among the white population over there.—*Cor. Herald.*

MORE OF THEM.—A letter from Fortress Monroe, Oct. 1, to *The Herald*, says:

"We had a fresh arrival of contrabands yesterday. They were from Smithfield, a small village from twenty to twenty-five miles above Newport News on the James river. Nine healthy fellows came in, having escaped in a small fisherman's boat, which they navigated by night down the river, passing batteries and camps without detection. They had possessed themselves of the boat three weeks ago, but had secreted it so closely as to evade the searches made by the owners and friends until the propitious time arrived for their departure, when they bade a tearful farewell to their families and started for our camp at Newport News. They had passed in safety to within a mile of our camp, when they discovered a boat making for them. They immediately turned and rowed like good fellows up the river, and for more than half an hour managed to keep their relative distance from their pursuers; but the practical arms of the man-of-war's crew finally pulled to them, and they, seeing the uselessness of a further struggle, threw up their oars, expecting instant death. It happened to be a boat from one of our men-of-war at Newport News, which had been sent out to overhaul them. On matters being mutually explained they were quite overcome with joy, and expressed an anxiety to get down to our camp instanter, lest some other boat might come after them. They state that there are very few troops between here and Smithfield, at any one point, but that they are garrisoning numerous batteries, which line either bank of the river. They understand that the batteries were very plenty between here and Richmond on the James river. The rebels are described as being heartily tired of their mode of life. They have no money paid them save in confederate bills, which were very difficult to pass in return for the necessaries of life. They complain of promises unfulfilled, and of prospects growing darker. The negroes state that there is the greatest suffering among the farmers for the want of salt, which is very scarce and not to be had for money. Salt is worth seven or eight dollars a sack, and no supply at that high price. Every one is greatly distressed for the commonest necessaries of life, and unless they can obtain salt to cure their bacon for the winter they must suffer still more before spring comes.

"Another club of nine is expected down in a day or two, as they have a boat secreted and are only watching for a favorable opportunity to leave."

FREEING THE SLAVES IN MISSOURI.—The manumission of two slaves by Gen. Fremont has already been announced. But another important movement has since occurred. Before the President's modification of the terms of Fremont's proclamation had been dispatched, an expedition was sent out by Fremont to break up various nests of secessionists in the vicinity of the towns Benton and Commerce. A correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, who accompanied this expedition, writes a long and very interesting account of its operations. The commander was Col. Smith, and the number of men was 600. The secessionists in Benton were first visited, and then the traitors of the town of Commerce were dealt with. The expedition *freed twenty-five slaves*, who were taken to St. Louis. The following extracts from the correspondent's letter state some curious facts: "All the farms along the route owned by aiders and abettors of treason were visited, the owners, if at home, taken prisoners or made to swear allegiance, and at the places of several who are holding rank in the secession army, their slaves (what few were left), in accordance with Fremont's proclamation, taken away. A more perfect picture of desolation and ruin than that portion of Missouri presented would be hard to imagine. Almost every house was deserted by the male inhabitants, and everything of value removed. At not one residence in ten was there any but women present, except occasionally an old man whose white hair rendered him unfit for duty and sacred from violence. The slaves were also women, or aged and decrepid—those capable of service being with their masters in the secession army. Horses, mules, and cattle were all taken, either with or without the wishes of the owners. All along the route evidences of smothered secession were numerous, and in some localities even the peaches by the wayside were poisoned, in hopes of destroying the troops. This latter attempt displayed a diabolical ingenuity worthy of a darker age. *The fruit while hanging on the tree had been plugged, some kind of liquid poison introduced, and the plug replaced.* Fortunately, the soldiers were warned in time to escape, but a small pig to which one of the poisoned peaches was given, died in half an hour. The total results of the expedition were twenty-five negroes, the same number of horses and mules, and half a dozen prisoners."

GEN. FREMONT NEEDED IN KENTUCKY.—A writer from Camp Joe Holt, near Louisville, Ky., relates the following sad story: "This morning, as some of Capt. Stone's men were bathing in the river, they saw a negro, spent and almost drowned, struggling towards them across the rapids. They saved him from a watery grave, and brought him, naked as he was born, to headquarters. Here some old clothes, and some bread and meat, the first which he had taken for more than a week, were given him, and he was then ordered to give an account of himself. The fugitive's name is Goree. He is the slave, and was the body servant, of Lieut.-Col. Bob Johnson, of the rebel Camp Boone. Goree ran away from him for being beaten without offence, and after adventures enough to make an "Uncle Tom's Cabin," arrived at daylight this morning on the bank of the friendly Ohio. But he was not yet safe. So pulling off his clothes and wrapping them around his head, he plunged into the river and struck out boldly for the further shore, distant almost a mile. The swift current swept him down among the rocks and breakers; his heavy turban became saturated, and threatened to sink him; he was bruised and cut horribly by the jagged granite of the Falls. He struggled manfully rather than part with his clothes, his little earthly all; but finding that he must choose between death and nakedness, he concluded to take the latter, and so set his wardrobe adrift. He continued to flounder on towards freedom's bank, now sucked under by the powerful eddies, now swept forward with frightful rapidity by the current, or dashed hard against the rocks. He must have perished, if Stone's men had not drawn him from the river. His surprise and distress at finding himself in camp, may be imagined. He supposed he would instantly be returned 'away down in Dixie's land,' for his master had told him that Lincoln's soldiers caught all runaway niggers and sold them down South again. Poor Goree, I pity him. As I write, he is crying as though his heart would break, and refuses to be comforted. Goree is a really intelligent lad. He can read, and spell, and write, as well as any boy of his age in the land; and if he but had a white skin, he might make a respectable man. But like all his unfortunate race, he has no resting-place in this life, and his only fortune lies in the vale of shadows beyond the tomb. Amid his sobs he implores that he may not be sent back to the brutal Johnson. He says he does not care what becomes of him, so that he is not returned to him. But he will be returned. As I write, a sergeant and squad have him in their midst, and are marching him back to slavery."

THE CONTRABANDS PAYING THEIR WAY.—*Fortress Monroe, Sept. 21, 1861.*—It is scarcely probable that Gen. Wool meant to have the government infer that the "contraband negroes" were an incumbrance here, and that, consequently, he knew not what to do with them. For the truth is, it would be difficult to get along without them, so useful and almost indispensable have they become on the docks, in making and working the railroad for the transportation of government stores, and in a variety of avocations. If, as is reported, the government has ordered the negroes to be sent to Washington, the Quartermaster, the Commissary Department, and in fact the operations of the post, so far as labor is concerned, will be seriously embarrassed until their places can be filled either by hiring other laborers or breaking in enlisted men, of whom there are none to spare, if soldiers are to be made of them. Indeed I venture to say that Gen. Wool can better spare from his department an equal number of soldiers than the negroes, which, according to report, the inference at Washington is, he don't know what to do with.

Another mistake is made as to the number of negroes at this post. The number of laborers does not rise four hundred; the total number of souls, including women, children, infirm and aged men, does not exceed fifteen hundred, and the number who draw rations is considerably less. A share of the women are engaged in various ways in work necessary to be done at a post of this sort, and their withdrawal would be an inconvenience. The remainder pay their way as servants at Camp Hamilton, Newport News and elsewhere. A persistent endeavor has been made to cause it to appear that the total number of "contraband" was much greater, a report having recently been circulated that rations were issued regularly to eighteen hundred. I see that the last report, said to have been made by a member of Gen. Wool's staff, is that the number is two thousand—too great by half, and at least fourfold too great as regards laborers. I state of good authority that the incumbrances, aged and sick, do not exceed one hundred. I presume that on examining into the facts of the case, Gen. Wool will conclude that he has not a single "contraband" to spare, but that on the contrary he could give employment to as many more if he had them, and if deprived of those that he has, their places will have to be made good either from the ranks of enlisted men, or by hiring laborers. As to the more important phase of the "contraband question," the political attitude in which the negroes stand, there can be no doubt that it is working itself out in the best possible way here, and should be left undisturbed. The natural gravitation of the question is in the right direction, and sound policy dictates that it should not be interfered with, either by changing the location or condition of the negroes.

*Fortress Monroe, Sept. 23, 1861.*—I understand that an order has been received from Washington by Gen. Wool to send there the "contraband" negroes at this post. This is a blunder, and the result of misapprehension. The real truth is that the "contraband," so far from entailing an incumbrance on this department, their withdrawal will embarrass its operations, and impose no small expense for the hire of men in their place. Taken as a whole, the negroes are paying their way admirably, and instead of there being ground for apprehending burdens or trouble from them, more are to be desired, and no place or circumstances can be selected or imagined where they will be so comfortable, so free from complications, so sure to work out the interesting problem that surrounds their condition as here. They are contented, because they are well cared for, feel sure of protection, and are a community of themselves. For the sake of keeping them free from entanglements and of giving the problem the solution to which it naturally and rapidly gravitates here, the "contraband" negroes should not be sent to Washington, or anywhere else. They are well enough off; their removal would impose burdens on the government, and complicate the question that surrounds them. They are needed here, and their present employment confers positive and important advantages on themselves and the government; and the order for their removal has arisen from a total misapprehension of the case, their numbers, their usefulness here, and of the reasons why their situation should not be disturbed. I do not look for this removal, for the present, at least. —*Cor. Tribune.*

*Fortress Monroe, Tuesday, Oct. 1,* 1861.—The order which was so hastily and inconsiderately issued to Gen. Wool, from Washington, to send the contraband negroes that have assembled here to the National Capital, has been judiciously countermanded, and there is a prospect now that the question and the negroes will be left undisturbed, to the solution to which the problem so happily tends. The country needs and has the services of the negroes. Unless the lie is to be given to the adage, that "revolutions never go backwards," then we need not fear that the well defined sentiments of the day will suffer a shock from the treatment which the negroes receive, and will continue to receive here. They are simply in the hands of men of good sense, neither fanatical nor prejudiced, but who bring to bear strong good sense not only as relates to their present treatment, but their future condition. Practically, the negroes and the question are in the keeping of the Quartermaster of this Department, Capt. Tallmadge, to whom, more than all other men, is due the credit of being the author, advocate and administrator of the "contraband" idea; and the country may feel sure that so far as depends on him, prejudice shall not result to the negro or the government. The negroes are systematically cared for; all their comforts are scrupulously provided; no instance of harsh treatment has been heard of—while the productiveness of the labor performed by the negro is confessed on all hands. Under this system the capacity of the negro for most kinds of labor has been abundantly proved. He needs to be directed more carefully and watched over more strictly than the white laborer. I am inclined to think that the circumstances under which the "contraband" are placed here, their associations and the influences which surround them tend very much not only to render them contented, but make them industrious. They come readily under the system and discipline that characterize everything at a military post like this—they are even fond of these, and seem to regard themselves as in some sort a part of the military machinery that so much charms them. Their shovels and their other implements of labor, they handle and carry as soldiers do their guns—the result of the native talent of imitation peculiar to the race. Going to and from their work, they do not straggle along in promiscuous crowds, but fall into regular files and columns, and with a step and regularity that would do credit to enlisted men, march with clearly defined pride, and sometimes to the tune whistled by one of their number, who, while he has caught a chance sight of the morning parade, has at the same time learned the music of the band. I have no doubt they would make fair or even excellent soldiers. Take away these surroundings, the "contraband" might and I think he would be different from what we behold him here. In whatever light you view the subject, the government has done well to let it alone, but to allow it to work itself out under the auspices that have thus far attended the novel question. —*Cor. Times.*

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*THE TWENTY-SIXTH*

## Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar.

THIS Fair will be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of December, 1861. It is the purpose of its managers to conduct it in a manner suited to the exigencies of the present times, diminishing, as far as possible, its expenses, and furnishing it with such articles as command a sale even in seasons of commercial embarrassment. We deem it necessary to remind the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Pennsylvania that an unusual effort will this year be required for the replenishment of our treasury. In seasons of pecuniary embarrassment, resulting from any cause, Anti-Slavery Societies, as all others, must suffer some diminution of their supplies: but the long-tried fidelity and zeal of the Pennsylvania Abolitionists inspires us with confidence in our appeal to them to meet an unusual demand with unusual energy.

Our thirty years' war for freedom *seems* about to culminate in victory. But many a battle has been lost by too much haste in accounting it won. Until its proclamation of liberty to the slaves proves that this nation has discovered, and is willing to acknowledge, the real cause and only true remedy for

# THE STANDARD.

### TO JOHN C. FREMONT.

THY error, Fremont, simply was to act
A plain man's part, without the statesman's tact,
And, taking counsel but of common sense,
To strike at cause, as well as consequence.
So take thou courage! God has spoken through thee,
Irrevocable the mighty words, Be Free!
The land shakes with them, and the slave's dull ear
Turns from the rice-field stealthily to hear.
Who would recall them now must first arrest
The winds that blow down from the free North-West,
Ruffling the Gulf; or, like a scroll, roll back
The Mississippi to his upper springs.
Such words fulfil their prophecy, and lack
But the full time to harden into things.

—*Boston Transcript.* J. G. WHITTIER.

## *SAUL AMONG THE PROPHETS.*

### ORESTES A. BROWNSON IN FAVOR OF EMANCIPATION BY THE WAR POWER.

From Brownson's Quarterly Review for October.

WE need not say, for the fact is well known to our readers, that no man, according to his ability and opportunity, has, since April, 1838, more strenuously opposed the Abolition movement in the free States than we have; not because we loved slavery, or had any sympathy with that hateful institution, but because we loved the Constitution of the Union, and because we believed that liberty at home and throughout the world was far more interested in preserving the Union of these States under the Federal Constitution, than in abolishing slavery as it existed in the Southern section of our common country. But we believe, and always have believed, that liberty, the cause of free institutions, the hopes of philanthropists and Christians, both at home and abroad, are more interested in preserving the Union and the integrity of the nation, than they are or can be in maintaining negro slavery. If we have opposed abolition heretofore, because we would preserve the Union, we must, *a fortiori*, oppose slavery whenever, in our judgment, its continuance becomes incompatible with the maintenance of the Union, or of our nation as a free republican State.

Certainly, we said in the article on "The Great Rebellion," in our last *Review*, the North has not taken up arms for the destruction of negro slavery, but for the maintenance of the Federal government, the enforcement of the laws, and the preservation of the Union. This is true. The liberation of the slave is not the purpose and end of the war in which we are now engaged. The war is a war against rebellion, an unprovoked and wicked rebellion, engaged in by the rebels for the purpose of making this a great slaveholding republic, in which the labor of the country shall be performed by slaves, either black or white; and if, to defeat the rebellion, the destruction of slavery be rendered necessary and be actually effected, it will change nothing in the character or purpose of the war. It will have been necessitated by the rebellion, and the rebels will have only themselves to thank for the destruction or abolition they force us to adopt in defence of liberty, the Union, and the authority of the government.

#### A WORD TO WORKING MEN.

Look at the question as we will, we have now no alternative but to subdue the rebels or be subjugated by them. We must either depose that Confederacy and enforce the authority of the Federal government over all the rebellious States, or it will enforce its authority over the free States, and impose upon them its system of slave labor. If it enforces its authority over us there may still, perhaps, be liberty for a class or caste, but *our laboring classes will no longer be freemen*—they will be placed on a level with the negro slave on a Southern plantation. For the Christian commonwealth founded by our fathers, toiled for and bled for, we have reëstablished a Pagan republic more hostile to the rights of man and the rights of nations than was ever Pagan Greece or Pagan Rome. We put it to our Christian countrymen, if such is the commonwealth their fathers fought and suffered through the long seven years' war of the Revolution to establish, and if they can be contented to let the hopes of liberty in the New World set in a night of blackness and despair.

#### THE WAR A SERIOUS MATTER.

It is no time to mince our words or to study out honeyed phrases; we must call things by their right names, and treat all who are not for us as against us. We have something more than even the Constitution and laws to maintain; the very existence of the nation is at stake; and, as no means are scrupled at to destroy it, we have the right to use all the means which the law of preservation renders necessary or expedient. *We wish our readers and the public at large to understand that we are in war, and to let it get through their heads that the war which the rebellion has forced upon us is no mimic war, is no child's play, and is not to be conducted to a successful issue on the principle of treating the rebels as friends, giving them every advantage and doing them no harm.* They are in downright earnest, and are putting forth all their strength, and doing their best to subjugate us; and we also must be in downright earnest, put forth all our strength, and do our best to subjugate them. War cannot be conducted on peace principles, or successfully conducted by men who do not enter into it with spirit, resolution, and energy.

#### THE SLAVE POPULATION.

* * * * This brings us to the question of the slave population in the rebellious States. In these States there are over three million of the population held by the laws or usages of those States as slaves. These people are an integral portion of the people of the United States, owe allegiance to the Federal government, and are entitled to the protection of that government. The government has the same right to make friends and allies of them, and to enroll and arm them against the rebellion, that it has to make friends and allies, or to enroll and arm the white population of Western Virginia or of Eastern Tennessee. It makes nothing against this that these people have heretofore been slaves by the laws or the usages of the States in which they reside; for those laws or usages are deprived of all force against the Union by the very act of rebellion. Rebellion dissolves all laws for the protection of the life or property of the rebels. By the very act of rebellion, the rebel forfeits to the government against which he rebels both his property and his life, and holds henceforth neither, save at its mercy or discretion. If it were not so, the government would have no right to confiscate the property of rebels, or to attempt to suppress a rebellion by force of arms. If the slaves held in the rebellious States are property, they are forfeited to the government, and the government may confiscate them, as cotton, rice, tobacco, or any other species of property found in the hands of the rebels. The same principle that gives to the government the right to confiscate a bale of cotton owned by a rebel, gives it a right to confiscate every negro claimed by a rebel master. This is perfectly clear, and is implied in the recent act of Congress on the subject. But if these people held as slaves are not property, they are and should be regarded as citizens of the United States, owing allegiance to the Federal government, liable to be called into the service of the Union in the way and manner it deems most advisable, and, if loyal, entitled to the same protection from the government as any other class of loyal citizens. Nobody can pretend that the Federal government is obliged, by virtue of the laws or usages heretofore existing in the slave States, to treat these people as property. Whatever might have been its obligation before the rebellious acts of those States, that obligation is no longer in force.

#### THE BORDER STATES AND FREEDOM.

But if it be required to treat them as free and loyal citizens by the military operations for the preservation of the Union, or even to remove the causes of the present rebellion, the government is bound so to treat them. The only doubt that can arise is as to the fact, whether it would or would not prove useful to this end. It may be objected to such a measure that it would deprive us of the aid of Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee, and drive into open hostility to the Union Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. This objection deserves grave consideration. But it is in substance the objection that has embarrassed the government from the outset, and compelled it to take only halfway measures to suppress the rebellion. For ourselves, we cannot respect the fear to which this obligation appeals. Fear is the worst possible counsellor in the world, and the government that hesitates to adopt the best policy for fear of alienating its friends, is lost. Let the lines be at once sharply drawn between our friends and our enemies. In a crisis like the present, lukewarm friends, or friends who will be our friends only by virtue of certain concessions to their interests or prejudices, are more embarrassing than open enemies, and do more to weaken our forces than if arrayed in open hostility against us. If these States are for the Union, they will insist on no conditions incompatible with the preservation of the Union; they will make sacrifices for the Union, as well as the other loyal States, and, there is no reason why they should not. There is neither reason nor justice in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the great States northwest of the Ohio, pouring out their blood and treasure for the gratification of the slaveholding pretensions of Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri. The citizens of these States who own slaves, are as much bound, if the preservation of the Union requires it, to give up their property in slaves, as we at the farther North are to pour out our blood and treasure to put down a rebellion that threatens alike them and us. If they love their few slaves more than they do the Union, let them go out of the Union. We are stronger to fight the battles of the Union without them, than we are with them.

#### EMANCIPATION.

But we have referred only to the slaves in the rebellious States, and, if it is, or if it becomes a military necessity to liberate all the slaves of the Union, and to treat the whole present slave population as freemen and citizens, it would be no more than just and proper that, at the conclusion of the war, the citizens of loyal States, or the loyal citizens of loyal sections of the rebellious States, should be indemnified at a reasonable rate for the slaves that may have been liberated. The States and sections of States named have not a large number of slaves, and, if the Union is preserved, it would not be a very heavy burden on it to pay their ransom; and to paying it no patriotic or loyal citizen of the free States would raise the slightest objection. The objection, therefore, urged, though grave, need not be regarded as insuperable; and we think the advantages of the measure, in a military point of view, would be far greater than any disadvantage we have to apprehend from it.

Whether the time for this important measure has come or not, it is for the President, as Commander-in-Chief of our armies, to determine. But, in our judgment, no single measure could be adopted by the government that would more effectually aid its military operations, do more to weaken the rebel forces, and to strengthen our own. Four miliion of people in the slave States, feeling that the suppression of the rebellion and the triumph of the Union secures to them and their children forever the *status* of free citizens, are more than a hundred thousand men taken from the forces of the enemy, and twice that number added to our own; for they would not only compel the rebels to keep a large force that might otherwise be employed at home, to protect their own wives and children, but would deprive them of the greater portion of that labor by which they now sustain their armies. Now slavery is to them a source of strength; it would then be to them a source of weakness. Its abolition would, in our judgment, be striking the enemy at his most vulnerable point, precisely where we can best sunder the sinews of his strength, and deal him the most fatal blow.

Moreover, it would not only bring to the assistance of the Federal arms the cooperation of the whole colored population of the Union, but would secure us, what we now lack, the sympathy and moral aid of the whole civilized world, and remove all danger of our coming into conflict with either France or England. The war would be seen then likely to effect a result with which Englishmen and Frenchmen could sympathize, and, instead of wishing for the success of the Southern Confederacy, they would wish with all their hearts for the success of the Federal arms. It would be more than this. It would bring to the aid of our volunteer force from one hundred to two hundred thousand brave and stalwart volunteers from the free States, aye, and even many from the slave States themselves, who will not and cannot be induced to volunteer their services in a war which, even if successful, promises to leave the institution of slavery not only existing, but more firmly established than ever. Everybody knows that slavery is at the bottom of the whole controversy, and that the real object of the Southern leaders is not simply to protect slavery against Abolition movements where it exists, but to extend it over the whole Union, and make the American republic a great slaveholding republic. And there are men in large numbers amongst us, men who have had no sympathy with Abolitionists, who see and understand very well that, even were we successful in putting down the present rebellion, no real Union between the North and the South could be restored, and that no durable peace between them could be reëstablished, if slavery continued to exist. These men enter not, and will not enter heartily into the war, unless they see clearly and feel fully assured that it will result in the final and total extinction of slavery throughout the Union, and all the territory it may now possess or hereafter acquire.

#### SLAVE LABOR AND FREE LABOR.

The present rebellion proves, what thoughtful and far-seeing men in all sections of the Union have long seen and said, that the preservation of the Union with the slave system of labor extending over one-half of it, is, in the ordinary course of human affairs, an impossibility. Senator Seward, or rather Mein Herr Diefenbach in our *Review* before him, was right in saying there is an "irrepressible conflict" between the two systems. They cannot long coëxist together in peace and harmony; there is an irrepressible tendency in each to exclude the other; and no possible wisdom or prudence on the part of any administration can harmonize their coëxistence under one and the same government. You must make your election between the systems, and adopt for the whole country either the slave system or the free labor system; and the real significance of the contest in which we are now engaged is, as to which of these systems shall be the American system.

However homogeneous in race or character, habits or manners, may be the people of a country in the outset, they separate and grow gradually into two distinct peoples, with almost entirely different ideas, habits, and customs, if one-half of them in the one section adopt the slave system, and the other half, in the other, the free labor system. We have already in the United States, notwithstanding our common origin, our common language, the similarity of our laws, and our habitual intercourse, grown almost into two distinct nations. The Confederates are Americans indeed, for they have been born and bred on American soil; but they no longer retain the original American character; while in the free States, bating the alterations effected by foreign emigration, that character is substantially preserved. We of the North are the same people that made the Revolution, won American Independence, and established the Federal government. This divergence showed itself even at the time of the Revolution; and it has been growing greater and greater from the beginning of the present century; and if the two systems of labor are continued on American soil, must continue to grow still greater and greater, till the people of the two sections grow up into two absolutely distinct and mutually hostile nations, no longer capable, but by the subjugation of the one by the other, of existing under one and the same government. The only way this divergence can be checked, the unity and homogeneousness of the whole American people recovered and preserved, is by the assimilation of the labor systems of the North and the South.

We of the North cannot and ought not to accept the labor system of the South. But the slave States, by their unprovoked rebellion, have given us an opportunity of performing an act of long delayed justice to the negro population of the Union, and of assimilating the Southern labor system to ours. This assimilation is at the bottom of the Southern rebellion, and the South has risen in arms against the Union chiefly for the purpose of extending her labor system over all the free States. In doing so she gives us the right, in our own self-defence, to extend our free-labor system over all the slave States—a right which, but for her rebellion, we should not have had under the Constitution.

#### THE GAIN OF LIBERTY.

If this prove a disadvantage to the Southern States, owing to the peculiar character of their laboring population, they have no right to complain, for it is a disadvantage they have brought upon themselves. But this will be a disadvantage only as compared with us of the North; for it will be better for the South herself to have her negro population free laborers than it is to have them slaves. In counting the population of the South, we must not count merely her white, but also her black and colored population. The moral, spiritual, and material well-being of her four million of black and colored people must be considered, as well as the moral, spiritual, and material well-being of her eight million of whites. These black and colored people are as much human beings, whose welfare is as important and as necessary to be consulted by the statesman, the political economist, the moralist, and the Christian, as that of any other portion of her population; and what they would gain by their emancipation should be thrown into the balance against what might be lost by their former owners. But even the three hundred and forty-seven thousand slave proprietors would, in reality, lose nothing, or gain in moral more than they would lose in material prosperity. We do not believe Southern society would, in case of emancipation, be equal to what it would be if the whole population were of the white race. The negro element would remain in that society, and, wherever it remains, it will be an inferior element; but far less so as free than as enslaved. The white population of the South must always suffer this drawback for having collected, or submitted to the collection of a large African population on their soil, and they have no right to complain if obliged to make expiation, as long as the world stands, for having introduced and sustained the institution of negro slavery. But, aside from the disadvantage of having its laboring population of a race with which the white race will not mingle, the South would gain by the assimilation of her labor system to that of the North.

#### EMANCIPATION POSSIBLE WITHOUT INDUSTRIAL RUIN.

Mr. Augustin Cochin has proved, in the work before us, that slavery can be aboli-bed, and the slaves converted into free laborers, without any serious detriment, even to the former slave proprietors. We all know that free labor is more economical than slave labor, and, therefore, that a freeman is worth more, under the point of view of national wealth, than a slave. The conversion of the four million of slaves now in the Southern States into freemen would very much increase instead of diminishing the aggregate wealth of those States; and if a portion of this increased aggregate wealth should pass from the hands of a few slave proprietors, and into the hands of those who have heretofore been allowed to hold no property, the aggregate well-being of the whole community would also be augmented instead of diminished, and therefore the South, regarded as a whole, or looking to her whole population, would be unquestionably a great gainer by the change. It would not in any respect be depopulated or impoverished, but would be in the way of a more rapid increase of its population, and of that wealth which constitutes the real strength and prosperity of a State. What we propose, then, would in no respect be ruinous, or even injurious, to the Southern States themselves, but would be a real advantage to them, and secure them after the peace all the greatness, strength, and prosperity States with a mixed population are capable of. The proposition, then, involves no wrong, no injustice, no injury to the white population of the Southern States; while it would be an act of justice, though tardy justice, to the negro race, so long held in bondage, and forced to forego all their own rights and interests for the pride, wealth, and pleasure of their white masters.

It seems to us, then, highly important, in every possible view of the case, that the Federal government should avail itself of the opportunity given it by the Southern rebellion to perform this act of justice to the negro race; to assimilate the labor system of the South to that of the North; to remove a great moral and political wrong; and to wipe out the foul stain of slavery, which has hitherto sullied the otherwise bright escutcheon of our republic. We are no fanatics on the subject of slavery, as is well known to our readers, and we make no extraordinary pretensions to modern philanthropy; but we cannot help fearing that, if the government lets slip the present opportunity of doing justice to the negro race, and of placing our republic throughout in harmony with modern civilization, God, who is especially the God of the poor and the oppressed, will never give victory to our arms, or suffer us to succeed in our efforts to suppress rebellion, and restore peace and integrity to the Union. We have too long turned a deaf ear to the cry of the enslaved; we have too long suffered our hearts to grow callous to the wrongs of the downtrodden in our own country; we have too long been willing to grow rich, to erect our palaces, and gather luxuries around us by the toil, the sweat, and the blood of our enslaved brethren. May it not be that the cry of these brethren has already entered the ear of Heaven, and that He has taken up their cause, and determined that, if we refuse any longer to break their chains, to set them free, and to treat them as our brothers and fellow-citizens, we shall no longer exist as a nation? May it not be that, in this matter, we have Him to reckon with, and that the first step toward success is justice to the wronged? We confess that we fear, and deeply fear, if we let slip the opportunity which the Southern rebellion gives us to do justice to the slave, or to make his cause ours, in vain shall we have gathered our forces and gone forth to battle. We fear God may be using the rebels as instruments of our punishment—instruments themselves to be destroyed, when through them our own destruction has been effected. We speak solemnly and in deep earnest; for he fights at terrible odds who has the infinite and just God against him. It may be that an all-wise Providence has suffered this rebellion for the purpose of giving us an opportunity of emancipating rightfully, without destroying, but as a means of preserving, the Union, the men, women, and children now held in bondage, and of redeeming our past offences. If so, most fearful will be His judgments upon us, if we neglect the opportunity, and fail to avail ourselves of the right. Now is our day of grace. This opportunity neglected, our day of grace may be over, and our republic follow the fate of all others, and become a hissing and a by-word in all the earth. Which may God in His infinite mercy avert.

## *UNION AND PEACE! HOW THEY SHALL BE RESTORED.*

### SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

*Delivered before the Republican State Convention of Massachusetts, Oct.* 1, 1861.

Therefore take heed ——
How you awake *our sleeping sword of War.*
We charge you, in the name of God, take heed.
—SHAKSPEARE, *Henry V.*

To humor the present disposition and temporize is a certain, absolutely certain confirmation of the Evil. No nation ever did or ever can recover from slavery by such methods —*Mr. Fox, Letter to Lord Holland*, 18th *June*, 1804.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In meeting my fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, who have come together on this occasion from all parts of the Commonwealth, I find myself in a familiar scene, but I feel that there has been a change. Yes! there has been a great change, and it is manifest in our Convention.

We are no longer met, as so often in times past, for purposes of controversy, or to sustain our cause by argument. That hour has passed. Formerly I have exposed to you the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave bill; I have rejoiced to show that freedom was national and slavery sectional; I have striven to prevent the extension of slavery into the Territories; I have vindicated especially freedom in Kansas, assailed by slaveholding conspirators; I have exposed the tyrannical usurpations of the slave oligarchy; and I have dragged into light the whole vast intense barbarism of slavery (applause). But these topics have now passed into history, and are no longer of practical interest. They are not of to-day.

Let us rejoice that at least so much has been gained, and from the extent of our present triumphs take hope and courage for the future. Providence will be with the good cause in times to come, as in times past. Others may despair; I do not. Others may see gloom; I cannot. Others may hesitate; I will not (applause). Already the country has been saved. Great as may seem to be its present peril, its peril was greater far while it was sinking year after year under the rule of slavery. Often have I exclaimed, in times past, that our first great object was the emancipation of the National government, so that it should no longer be the slave of slavery, ready to do its bidding in all things. But this victory has been won. It was won first by the ballot-box, when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States (applause); and it was won the second time by the cartridge-box, when, at the command of the President, the guns of Fort Sumter returned defiance to the rebel artillery (three cheers). Such was the madness of slavery that the first was not enough. Unhappily, the second was needed to complete the work.

God be praised! Much has been already done. The slave oligarchy, which, according to the vaunt of a slaveholding Senator, has ruled the Republic for more than fifty years; which has stamped its degrading character upon the national forehead; which has entered into and possessed not only the politics, but the literature and even the religion of the land; which has embroiled us at home and given us a bad name abroad; which has wielded at will President, Cabinet, and even judicial tribunals; which has superseded public opinion by substituting its own immoral behests; which has appropriated to itself the offices and honors of the Republic; which has established slavery as the single test and shibboleth of favor; which, after opening all our Territories to this wrong, was already promising to renew the slave trade and all its unutterable woes; nay, more, which, in the instinct of that tyranny through which it ruled, was beating down all the safeguards of human rights—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and security of person, and delivering the whole country to a sway whose vulgarity was second only to its madness; this domineering slave oligarchy has been dislodged from the National government, never more to return (immense sensation). Thus far, at least, has emancipation prevailed. *The greatest slave of all is free.*

Surely, if at any moment we are disposed to be disheartened—if the future is not always clear before us—we may find ample occasion for joy in the victory already won. Pillars, like those of Hercules, might fitly mark this progress.

Among the results of this victory, is one which we may especially enjoy on this occasion. It is slavery which has been the origin of our party divisions, keeping men asunder who ought to act together. But with the expulsion of this disturbing influence, the apology for these divisions has ceased. All patriots—all who truly love their country—may now act together; no matter in what party combination they may have formerly appeared; no matter of what accent is the speech by which their present duties are declared. Call them Democrats, Union men, natives or foreigners, what you will, are we not all engaged in a common cause? Nor will I claim as yet the highest praise for those with whom I am most intimately associated. I have read history too well, not to remember that faithful allies are sometimes superior to domestic veterans. Hannibal, in his campaigns, relied less on his own Carthagenians than on his Spanish infantry and Numidian horse.

The government is assailed by a rebellion without precedent. Never before, since Satan warred upon the Almighty, has rebellion assumed such a front (applause); and never before has it begun in such a cause. The rebels are numerous and powerful; and their cause is slavery (sensation).

It is the very essence of rebellion to be audacious, unhesitating, unscrupulous. Rebellion sticks at nothing; least of all, with a rebellion which began in slavery. It can be successfully encountered only by a vigor and energy which shall surpass its own. Patriotism surely is not less potent as a motive than treason. It must be invoked. By all the memories of your fathers, who founded this Republic and delivered to you the precious heritage; and by all the sentiments of gratitude for the good you have enjoyed beneath its protecting care, you are summoned to its *defence*. Defence, did I say? It is with mortification that I utter the word; but you all know the truth.

The rebel conspirators have set upon us, and now besiege the National government. They besiege it at Washington, where are the President and his Cabinet, and the National archives. They besiege it at Fort Monroe on the Atlantic, at St. Louis on the Mississippi, and now they besiege it in Kentucky. Everywhere we are on the defensive (sensation). Strongholds have been wrested from us. Soldiers gathered under the folds of our National flag have been compelled to surrender. Citizens, whose only offence has been their loyalty, have been driven from their homes. Bridges have been burned. Railways have been disabled. Steamers and ships have been seized. The largest navy-yard of the country has been appropriated. Commerce has been hunted on the sea, and property, wherever it can be reached, ruthlessly robbed or destroyed. Only within a few days we have read the order of one Buckner, a rebel commander in Kentucky, directing the destruction of a most important lock, by which Green river had been rendered navigable. Pardon me if I ask your attention to this intercepted order. It is instructive, as showing the spirit with which this rebellion is waged:

BOWLING GREEN, September, 1861.

MR. GEORGE W. TRIPLETT—*My Dear Sir*: Yours is received. Lock No. 1 must be destroyed. I rely upon our friends at Owenborough to do it. Not an hour must be lost. Its destruction is a great deal to me in crippling our adversary. Assemble our friends, without delay, in sufficient force to accomplish the object. One of the best ways is to open all the gates but one, and to dig down behind the wall at both gates; to put one or two kegs of powder behind the wall, apply a slow match, and blow the wall into the lock. If possible, it should be done in such a way as to leave a strong current through the lock, which will empty the dam. Provide everything in advance. Do not fail. It is worth an effort. (Signed) S. H. BUCKNER.

It is still doubtful if the work of destruction was accomplished according to this rebel order. But thus madly was it attempted to sweep away one of the most valuable of the internal improvements of Kentucky, a part of the pride and wealth of the State.

Do you ask in whose name all this has been done? The answer is easy. Not "in the name of God and the Continental Congress," as Ethan Allen summoned Ticonderoga, but "in the name of slavery." Yes, in the name of slavery, and nothing else, has all this crime, destruction and ravage been perpetrated; and the work is still proceeding.

Look at the war as you will, and you will always see slavery. Never were the words of the Roman orator more applicable: *Nullum facinus extitit nisi per te; nullum flagitum sine te.* "No guilt unless through thee, no crime without thee." Slavery is its inspiration; its motive power; its end and aim; its be-all and end-all.

It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that *the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war* (tumultuous applause and cheers).

If I am correct in this statement, which I believe is beyond question, then do reason, justice and policy all unite in declaring that the war must be brought to bear directly on the grand conspirator, and omnipresent enemy. [Here the vociferous cheers of the Convention interrupted the speaker.] Not to do this, is to take upon ourselves, in the present contest, all the weakness of slavery, while we leave to the rebels its boasted resources of military strength (cheers). Not to do this, is to squander life and treasure in a vain masquerade of battle, which can have no practical result. Not to do this, is blindly to neglect the plainest dictates of economy, humanity and common sense; and alas! simply to let slip the dogs of war on a mad chase over the land, never to stop until spent with fatigue, or sated with slaughter (sensation).

Believe me, fellow-citizens, I know all the imagined difficulties and unquestioned responsibilities of this suggestion. But if you are in earnest, the difficulties will at once disappear, and the responsibilities are such as you will gladly bear. This is not the first time that a knot hard to untie has been cut by the sword (cheers); and we all know that danger flees before the brave man. Believe that you can, and you can. The will only is needed. Courage now is the highest prudence (applause).

It is not necessary even, according to a familiar phrase, to carry the war into Africa. It will be enough if we carry Africa into the war [here the outburst of applause compelled the speaker to suspend his remarks]—in any form, any quantity, any way (continued applause). The moment this is done, rebellion will begin its bad luck, and the Union will be secure forever (cheers).

History teaches by examples. The occasion does not allow me to show how completely this monitor points the way. I content myself with two instances of special mark—one from ancient Greece and the other from ancient Rome.

The most fatal day for ancient Greece was that "dishonest victory" at Cheronæa, when Philip of Macedon triumphed over combined forces, in which Demosthenes was enlisted as a soldier. The panic was universal. Athens was thrown into consternation. Her great orator had fought bravely, but ineffectually. Another orator, called by Milton "the old man eloquent," died suddenly on hearing the report of the defeat. The book of Fate seemed about to close, while the proud Athenian State sank to be a Macedonian province. Then it was that a patriotic orator, Hypereides, launched a proposition to emancipate the slaves. The effect was electric. The royal Philip, already strong in his victory, trembled. King and conqueror, he was also statesman, and he saw well that such a proposition, begun in Athens, would shake all Greece, even to his powerful throne, which the young Alexander was then preparing to mount. His triumphant course was at once arrested, and peace secured.

The other instance is in Roman history. You will find it in Plutarch's Life of Caius Marius. This experienced general—and his great experience gives to his example the highest authority—who, in the civil conflicts of the time, had been driven from Rome, and found shelter in the ruins of Carthage, was able at last to effect a landing in Italy. Thus is the incident recorded:

"Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten. He took with him some Marusian horse which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thousand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Etruria called Telamon, *and as soon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the slaves* (immense applause); and, joining to them the stoutest husbandmen and shepherds, freemen, who had flocked to the shore, he gathered in a few days a great force, with which he filled forty ships."

Thus far Plutarch. It is needless to add that Marius found himself soon master of Rome. (applause).

These are historic instances. I do not adduce them that you should blindly follow them; but simply that you should see how, in times past, defeat has been stayed and victory won, by a generous word for freedom. Men die and disappear; but the human family continues the same, in passions and fears, as when Philip was frightened back from Athens, and when Marius was borne in triumph to Rome (applause).

To these historic instances, let me add the authority of the ancient Roman law, and I refer you for it to the common Dictionary of Antiquities, now used in all our schools. According to that law, the state of slavery might be terminated in at least three different manners: first, by manumision; secondly, by enactments of reward to the slave; and thirdly, *by enactments of punishment to the master* (great sensation). If the master had failed to be a good citizen, he might be punished—so that, at the same time, he should suffer in property and others should gain what is more than property—freedom. But I do not cite even this example of a time-honored jurisprudence for your absolute guidance. I will not doubt that, in the unparalleled circumstances by which we are now encompassed, justice will be done.

Already the way is easy. A simple declaration—that all men coming within the lines of the United States troops shall be regarded as freemen—will be in strict conformity to the Constitution, and also with precedents. The Constitution knows no man as a slave. It treats all within its jurisdiction as *persons*, while the exceptional provision for the rendition of *persons* held to service or labor, you will observe, is carefully confined to such as have escaped into another State, so that in Virginia, it does not require the surrender of a Virginia slave; nor in Missouri of a Missouri slave. It is clear, therefore, that there can be no sanction under the Constitution for turning a national camp into a slave-pen, or for turning military officers into slave-hunters. Let this plain construction be adopted, and then, as our lines advance, freedom will everywhere be established, and our national flag in its march will wave with new glory (applause).

A brave General, whom Massachusetts has given to the country—though commencing his career with prejudices derived from the pro-slavery school of politicians—has known how to see this question in its true light. I mean, of course, Gen. Butler (immense cheering, interrupting the speaker for some time). He has declared in his letter to the Secretary of War, dated Fortress Monroe, 30th July, 1861, with reference to fugitive slaves, that it is his duty "to take the same care of these men, women, and children, houseless, homeless, and unprovided for, as he would of the same number of men, women, and children, who, for their attachment to the Union, had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States." These words are better for his reputation than a victory (applause and cheers).

Another General, born in Kentucky and living and dying in the South—Maj.-Gen. Gaines of the Army of the United States—laid down the same rule as long ago as 1838. It will be found in the documents of Congress. "The military officer," said he, "can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bone and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal government by force of arms. In such case, he could only be guided by the laws of war; and whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal government."

This proposition, though of seeming simplicity, would be of incalculable efficacy if honestly and sincerely enforced. Then would our camps become nurseries of freemen, and every common soldier would be a chain-breaker.

But there is another agency that may be invoked, which is, at the same time, under the Constitution, and above the Constitution; I mean martial law. It is under the Constitution, because the war power, to which it belongs, is positively recognized by the Constitution. It is above the Constitution, because, when set in motion, like necessity, it knows no other law. For the time, it is law and Constitution. The civil power, in mass and in detail, is superseded, and all rights are held subordinate to this military magistracy. All other agencies, small and great, executive, legislative, and even judicial, are absorbed in this transcendent triune power, which, for the time, declares its absolute will, while it holds alike the scales of justice and the sword of the executioner. The existence of this power nobody questions. If it has been rarely exercised in our country, and never in an extended manner, the power none the less has a fixed place in our political system. As well strike out the kindred law of self-defence, which belongs alike to States and individuals. Martial law is only one form of self-defence.

That this law might be employed against slavery was first proclaimed in the House of Representatives by a Massachusetts statesman, who was a champion of freedom, John Quincy Adams (applause). His authority is such that I content myself with placing the law under the sanction of his name, which becomes more authoritative when we consider the circumstances under which he first put it forth, then repeated and then again vindicated it.

It was as early as the 25th of May, 1836, that Mr. Adams first expounded what he called "The war power and treaty-making power of the Constitution." Then it was that he declared:

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

Again, on the 7th of June, 1841, after many years of reflection, and added experience in public life, he terrified slavemasters by showing that universal emancipation might be accomplished through this extraordinary power.

Afterward, on the 14th of April, 1842, for the third time he stated the doctrine in the House of Representatives, and challenged criticism or reply. I forbear to read the whole speech, though it is worthy of constant repetition. An extract will suffice:

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, *not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves.*"

And then again he announces in words further applicable to the present hour:

"Nor is this a mere theoretic statement. Slavery was abolished in Columbia, first, by the Spanish General, Murillo, and secondly, by the American General Bolivar. It was abolished by virtue of a military command given at the head of the army, and its abolition continues to be law to this day."

The representatives of slavery fumed and raged at these words and at their venerable author; but nobody answered them. And they have stood ever since in the records of Congress, firm and impregnable as adamant.

In the protracted controversy which is now drawing to its close, Massachusetts has done much. She first gave the example of universal freedom within her borders; and ever since that early day she has taken a leading part in all efforts against slavery. It is her children who have never failed in this cause, where anything was to be done, whether by word or deed. Massachusetts has for years borne the burden of this discussion, and also the heavier burden of obloquy which has long rested upon all who pleaded for the slave. It is Massachusetts, who, with patriotic ardor, first leaped to the rescue when the Capital was menaced by slavery (applause), and by a happy coincidence, on the 19th of April of this year, consecrated herself anew by the blood of her children (applause); thus being, at the same time, first to do and first to suffer (immense applause.). It was also a Massachusetts General who first in this conflict proclaimed that our camps could not contain a slave (vociferous applause); and it was an illustrious Massachusetts statesman who first unfolded the beneficent principle by virtue of which, constitutionally, legally, and without excess of any kind, the President or a Commanding General may become more than a conqueror, even a liberator (applause and great sensation).

Massachusetts will be false to herself, if she fails at this moment (sensation). And yet, I would not be misunderstood. Feeling most profoundly that there is now an opportunity, such as rarely occurs in human annals, for incalculable good—seeing clearly that there is one spot, like the heel of Achilles, where this great rebellion may be wounded to death—I calmly deliver the whole question to the judgment of those on whom the responsibility rests, contenting myself with reminding you that there are times when *not to act* carries with it a greater responsibility than *to act*. It is enough for us to review the unquestioned powers of the government, to handle for a moment its mighty weapons, which are yet allowed to slumber, without assuming to declare that the hour has come when they shall flash against the sky.

But may a good Providence save our government from that everlasting regret which must ensue if a great opportunity is lost by which all the bleeding wounds of war shall be staunched—by which prosperity shall be again established, and peace be made immortal in the embrace of liberty (applause). Saul was cursed for not hewing Agag in pieces when in his hands, and Ahab was cursed for not destroying Benhadad. Let no such curses ever descend upon us.

"So many slaves, so many enemies!" Unless this ancient proverb has ceased to be true, there are now four millions of enemies intermingled with the rebels, toiling in their fields, digging in their camps, and sitting at their firesides, constituting four millions of allies to the national government. Careful calculations demonstrate that out of this number, there are upwards of one million of an age for military service; that in Virginia alone, there are 121,564 male slaves of an age for military service; in Missouri, 21,334, and in Kentucky, 51,990. Can we afford to reject this natural alliance, inspired by a common interest, and consecrated by humanity? There is another motive to such an alliance which cannot be forgotten. Without it insurrection will be inevitable, and when it comes it will be wild and lawless. This should be prevented, if possible. But if liberty does not descend from the tranquil heights of power, it will rise in blood, amidst the confusion of families. And what a difference between the two apparitions! The one has the face of an angel radiant with celestial life; the other has the front of a demon, "shaking from its horrid hair pestilence and war" (great applause and cheering). All this was clearly seen by the Emperor of Russia, when, on the 21st of September, 1858, he called upon his people to unite with him in emancipation, "which," he nobly declared, "ought to begin *from above*, to the end that it may not come *from below*"; and now this very year twenty millions of Russian serfs have peacefully passed out of the house of bondage. Cheered by this great example, let us not forget that *it began from above.*

There is another practical advantage where the action proceeds from the government. The interests of loyal citizens can be protected. Compensation may relieve the hardships of individual cases, or of meritorious classes; nor can I object. Never should any question of money be allowed to interfere with human freedom. Better an empty treasury than a single slave. A bridge of gold would be cheap, if demanded by the retreating fiend.

Fellow-citizens: I have spoken frankly; for such has always been my habit. And never was there greater need of frankness. Let patriots understand each other and they cannot widely differ. All will unite in whatever is required by the sovereign exigencies of self-defence. All will unite in sustaining the government, and in driving back the rebels. But this cannot be done by any half-way measures, or by any lukewarm conduct. Do not hearken to the voice of slavery, no matter what its tones of persuasion. It is the gigantic traitor—not for a moment to be trusted. Believe me, its friendship is more deadly than its enmity (sensation). If you are wise, prudent, economical, conservative, practical, you will strike quick and hard—strike, too, where the blow will be most felt—strike at the mainspring of the rebellion. Strike in the name of the Union, which only in this way can be restored—in the name of Peace, which is vain without Union, and in the name of Liberty also, sure to bring both Peace and Union in her glorious train.

As Mr. Sumner closed, the hearty approval of the sentiments of the speech found utterance in the most enthusiastic and long-continued demonstrations of applause.

#### ACTION OF THE CONVENTION.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE said he had two resolutions in the spirit of Mr. Sumner's speech, which he wished to present to the Convention. He did not desire in any way to prejudice the rights of any person not belonging to the Republican party, who had come into this Convention under the liberal terms of its call. We are in the habit of saying that the time for speaking has passed, and that this is the time for action only. We believe, that, while engaged in war, it is not worth while to bring up any questions upon which there might be a doubt. But there is one thing we ought to consider. If men are the muscles of war, if dollars are the sinews of war, ideas and convictions are the nerves of war; and unless we are fighting for something, and know what we are fighting for, it is pretty certain that after a while our courage will give way. Every one who comes from Washington represents that the government is quite willing to carry on the war vigorously; but that it wants to be backed up by the people. Now we have a Convention, the most important, perhaps, ever held in Massachuset